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THE DABISTÁN,

OR

SCHOOL OF MANNERS.

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THE

DABISTAN,

OR

SCHOOL OF MANNERS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

50443

BY

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THE DABISTÁN,

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SCHOOL OF MANNERS.

CHAPTER II.

The second chapter of the Dabistan describes in twelve sections the religious systems of the Hindus:

Section 1. Concerning the tenets of the *Búdah-Mímánsa*, the followers of which are also called *Samártikan* (*Smártís*), or "legalists," and are orthodox Hindus.

Sect. 2. Records some of their opinions relative to the creation: their *Purans* (*Tarikhs*), or "histories," treat of the same subject.

Sect. 3. The religious ceremonies and acts of the *Smártís*, and their orthodoxy.

Sect. 4. Treats of the followers of the *Vedanta*, who form the philosophers and Súfís of this sect.

Sect. 5. Concerning those who profess the *Sankhya* doctrines.

Sect. 6. Treats of the *Jogís* and their doctrines.

Sect. 7. Describes the tenets of the *Saktían.* 145

Sect. 8. The opinions and ceremonies of the worshippers of *Vishnú.*

Sect. 9. Treats of the *Chárvákián.*

Sect. 10. Describes the system of the *Tárkikán,* who are profound investigators and deep thinkers in theology.

Sect. 11. On the tenets held by the followers of *Búdah* (*Buddha*).

Sect. 12. On various religious systems professed by the people of India.

SECTION THE FIRST — CONCERNING THE ORTHODOX HINDOO SYSTEM. As inconstant fortune had torn away the author from the shores of Persia, and made him the associate of the believers in transmigration and those who addressed their prayers to idols and images and worshipped demons, therefore the tenets held by this most subtle class of reasoners come to be considered next after those of the Parsees. It is however necessary to premise, that among the Hindus there are many systems of religion, and innu-

merable creeds and ceremonies: but there is one principal class of this people (as will be shown in the tenth chapter), and its rank and dignity will be brought into evidence.

Like Zardusht and the sages of antiquity, they have recourse to metaphorical and enigmatical figures of speech, as will appear evident in the course of this narration. Long before the present work, the author had from books ascertained their various systems, according to a plan which he now voluntarily abandons; as in the year of the Hejirah 1063 (A. D. 1653), whilst sojourning at Srikakul, the capital of Kalinga,[1] certain eminent persons who were the author's intimate friends, had travelled in that direction for the purpose of visiting their holy stations; one day a conference took place, on which the author reviewed anew what he had before heard, and with the pen of accuracy drew the line of erasure over all that was doubtful; so that there was found a wide difference between the first and second work on these points.

Summary of the doctrines contained in the Budah Mimansa.[2] The whole world is not governed by

[1] The name of a country: this name is applied in the Puranas to several places, but it usually signifies a district on the Coromandel coast, extending from below Cuttack to the vicinity of Madras.—D. S.

[2] بودہ میمنس is the reading of the edition of Calcutta; the same spelling of *Budh*, or *Budah*, is found when the name of the legislator,

the orders of a real Lord, and there is in truth no reality in his actual existence. Whatever of good or evil, reward or punishment, attaches to created beings, is entirely the result of their acts, deeds, and words; mortals are altogether captive in the trammels of their own works, and confined in the chains of their own deeds: without previous acts they are liable to no consequences. The sovereign, *Brahma*, the creator of all things; the angelic *Vishnu*, their preserver; and *Mahesh*, or *Siva*, the destroyer of existences, attained to this exalted eminence through means of righteous acts and holy deeds; nay, Brahma, through the efficacy of worship, the power of

properly *Buddha*, is introduced, as in p. 175 of the same edition, and elsewhere. But *Budah* may also signify "past, gone," and therefore "prior;" on that account D. Shea rendered the above name by *Purva* (or "prior") *Mimansa*. According to Colebrooke and Mr. Wilson, मीमांसा *Mi'ma'nsa'*, signifies one of the philosophical systems of the Hindús, or rather a two-fold system, the first part of which is the *Purva Mi'ma'nsa'*, or *Mi'ma'nsa'*, simply; the second part, the *Uttara Mi'mansa*. "The prior Mímánsá, founded by Jaimini, teaches the art of "reasoning, with the express view of aiding in the interpretation of the "Vedas. The *Uttara*, or "latter," commonly called the *Vedanta*, and "commonly attributed to Vyasa, deduces from the Vedas a refined "psychology, which goes to the denial of a material world."—(*Colebrooke's Essays.*)

But the above account of the Dabistán is not strictly and fully in accordance with this definition of the first Mímánsá, because it exhibits more of the Puranic than of the Vedáic doctrine, not without some particular notions. It appeared therefore best to adhere to the reading of the original text.—A. T.

obedience, the might of his religious austerities, and by his good actions, created the world; agreeably to the express declaration of the *Véda*,[1] which according to the belief of the Hindus is a celestial revelation, every dignity of the celestial orders is inseparably connected with meritorious works and holy deeds; and as the intellectual soul is of the same nature as the angelic essence, the possessor may, by the exercise of angelic qualities, become one of those exalted dignities, and during a lengthened but definite period, be invested with power and glory. For instance, the human spirit, which in knowledge and good works has attained to a degree accounted worthy of the rank of Brahma, is, on the termination of the period of sovereignty assigned to the present Brahma, appointed to that predestined dignity: the same principle also applying to the other angelic degrees.

This tenet therefore leads to the same inference as the opinions entertained by the distinguished Parsee sages, namely: that the spirits of men, on attaining complete perfection, become united to the heavenly bodies, and after many revolutions, the celestial souls are blended with the divine intelligences. According to the Mobed:

" The cup-bearer poured into the goblet the wine of the celestial soul,

[1] Védá, the generic term for the sacred writings, or scriptures, of the Hindús. See a subsequent note about the four Vēdas.

" And filled the nine empyreal domes with the beverage of human
" spirit."

The world has neither beginning nor ending; moreover all spirits are enchained in the bonds of their own acts and deeds; so that the spirit of high rank which adopts the practices of the inferior, cannot attain to the sublime rank peculiarly assigned to exalted conduct; and the inferior spirit, sedulously given up to the works of those eminent in dignity, is enabled to obtain that glorious pre-eminence; so that their meritorious works confer on them knowledge; and the purity of their intellects, in proportion to their elevation, conducts them to high degrees and praiseworthy deeds. The dominion obtained by an animal body over the human soul arises from works; as in their members, physical structure, and senses, all men are fashioned after one model; but through the cause of becoming or unbecoming deeds, one is a sovereign ruler, and another a destitute dependent. Thus, through the influence of praiseworthy acts, one is honored and opulent; and owing to a subservience to foul deeds, another lives degraded and indigent; the high and dignified agent of opulence and honor falls not into the depths of poverty, nor does the wretched slave to acts of covetousness and avarice ever attain the dignity of honor and riches. The world is the root and productive soil of works, and time is their deve-

loper; because, when their time comes, it brings the fruit, just as every season produces the flowers, sweet-scented plants, and fruits suitable to the period; in like manner, the result of every act, whether deserving of praise or censure, is made to adhere to its agent, in whatever revolution that may be proper for it. Works are divided into two kinds: those which are to be performed; the other, those which are to be avoided: under the first, come those acts, the performance of which is enjoined in the Vedas, or the celestial revelation, such as the established worship and the requisite acts of obedience which prevail among the Hindoos; under the second head come those acts, the committing of which is forbidden by the text of the celestial code; such as shedding blood, theft, immoral practices, and other similar acts there enumerated. The supreme Lord stands not in need of our adoration and obedience, nor is he in any want of us for the performance of the above-mentioned duties at our hands; but the results of our acts and deeds, in reference to rewards and punishments, accrue and adhere to us. For instance, if the invalid should adopt habitual moderation, he obtains that health which is the object of his wishes, and his existence is thereby rendered happy; but should he, from a bias to reprehensible pleasures, the concomitants of disease, withdraw from the restraints of abstinence, his life becomes embittered;

the physician, in either case, being totally independent of the patient's welfare and sufferings. Moreover, the world is the abode of disease, and human beings are the patients: if they acquit themselves in the most perfect manner of their prescribed duties, and strenuously avoiding what ought not to be done, they attain the state of health, the most elevated degree of which is liberation from this degraded body, and union with the ambrosial sweets of paradise; which state is called *Mukti* by this sect; and the mode of attaining the highest degree of Mukti is not being immersed in the pleasures of this world, plucking away the heart from the gratifications of sense, being content with mere necessaries, abstaining from food, breaking the fast with viands not relished by the vile appetite, and such like: just as in sickness, for the sake of dissolving the morbid matter, it becomes necessary to fast one day, and to swallow bitter draughts.

Such is the substance of the tenets professed by the sect entitled Budah-Mimansá, which coincide exactly with those of the Yezdániáns, except that the latter admit the being of the self-existent God, the sole and true object of adoration; regarding the acts and deeds performed in this world as the means of elevation and degradation in the next; holding the angelic dignities to be imperishable; and esteeming human perfection to consist in attain-

ing to the society and service of the sublime assembly in the court of heaven; whilst the followers of the Budah Mimansa do not admit the existence of the eternal and infinite Lord; but according to them, the term "Almighty" signifies the human soul, acts, and deeds. They also assert, that the blessings of paradise are transitory, and that the angelic dignities are liable to perish. However, the orthodox opinion, which is most prevalent at this time, is this: they admit the being of the truly-existing God, by whom the world subsists; but account his holy essence altogether exalted, and exempt from whatever effects created beings. They also believe that human beings are confined by the yokes of their own works, and enchained by their deeds, in the manner before stated.

SECTION THE SECOND TREATS OF CERTAIN OPINIONS ENTERTAINED BY THIS SECT CONCERNING THE CREATION: A SUBJECT WHICH IS ALSO DISCUSSED IN THEIR PURANAS OR HISTORIES.—In the second part of the Bhagavat, one of their most esteemed Puránás, it is recorded that the Almighty Creator, in the beginning, first placed the mantle of existence on the bosom of *Prakriti*,[1] or "nature," and produced the fourteen *Bhu-*

[1] प्रकृति *Prakriti*, or मूल प्रकृति *Mula Prakriti*. "the root or Plastic "origin of all;" termed प्रधान *Pradha'na*, "the chief one; the uni-"versal material cause;" identified by the cosmogony of the Puránás

vanas,[1] or "worlds." The first sphere is that of the earth, which has been estimated by some of the ancients at five Kotes (50 millions) of Yojans,[2] each Kote being equal to one hundred Lakhs (10 millions) and each Jojun to one Parasang and one-third; above the terrestrial is the aqueous sphere; above which is that of fire; beyond which is the aërial, over the celestial; beyond which is the *Ahankar*,[3] or that of "consciousness;" and higher than this is the *Mahat-tat* (*Mahat-tatwam*)[4] or "essence," which is

with *Maya*, or "illusion; and by mythologists with *Bra'hmi'*, "the "power or energy of Brahmá" (*Colebrooke's Essays*).

Prakriti, in philosophy, "the passive or material cause of the world," as opposed to the active or spiritual; and in mythology, a goddess united to the primeval male, and the genitress of the world (*Wilson*). —D. S.

[1] The quotations of our author are too general for being referred to particular parts or passages of the Hindú books. The above doctrine is contained in a great number of their treatises. In the *Vedanta sara*, or "Essence of the Vedanta doctrine" (p. 16, Calcutta edit.), we find mentioned the fourteen भुवनानि *Bhuvana'ni*, or "worlds."—A. T.

[2] योजन *Yojana*, or *Jojun*, "a measure of distance" equal to four Crosas, which at 8,000 cubits or 4,000 yards to the Crosa, or Cas, will be exactly nine miles: other computations make the Yojana but about five miles, or even no more than four miles and a half (*Wilson's Dict.*). —D. S.

[3] More properly of egotism, which is the literal sense of the term: its peculiar function is अभिमान *Abhimana*, or "selfish conviction; a "belief that in perception or meditation *I* am concerned; that the ob- "jects of sense concern *me;* in short, that *I* am" (*Colebrook's Essays*). —D. S.

[4] Derived from *Mahat*, "great," महत् also the intellectual principle

equal to ten of those below it; and Prakrit having enveloped it, intelligence penetrating through all the things before said, rises above: on earth it becomes knowledge; by means of water, there is taste; by means of fire, form; by means of air, the touch of cold and dry; by means of the heavens, there is the perception of sound; and the organs of perception, are the exterior senses; and the internal sense is the seat of consciousness. In the same part of the Bhagavat it is stated that, by nature, the heavens are the vehicle of sounds; and consequently, the nature of the air gives the perception of sound and touch; in all other bodies the air is spirit, and from it arises the energy of the senses. To the nature of fire belongs the perception of sound, touch and form; to the nature of water, that of sound, touch, form, and savor; and to the nature of earth, that of sound, touch, form, savor, and odor.

Of the fourteen created spheres, seven rise above the waist of the Almighty, and the remaining seven correspond with the lower part of his body; accord-

and तत्त्व *Tatva*, "essential nature—the real nature of the human soul, "considered as one and the same with the divine spirit animating the "universe;" the philosophical etymology of this word best explains its meaning, *Tat*, "that; that divine Being;" and त्वं *Twam*, "thou:"—"that very God art thou." *Tatva* also means "reality, truth, sub-"stance," opposed to what is illusory or fallacious (*Wilson*).—D. S.

ing to which enumeration the *Bhú-lok*,[1] or the earth and terrestrial beings form "his waist;" the *Bhúvanlok*,[2] or the space between the earth and sun, "his navel;" the *Surlok*,[3] "his heart;" the *Mehrlok*,[4] "his breast;" the *Jonlok*,[5] "his neck," the *Tapalok*,[6] "his forehead;" the *Satyolok*,[7] "his head;" the *Atellok*,[8] "his navel and podex;" the *Batellok*,[9] "his thigh;" the *Sotollok*,[10] "his knee;" the *Talátellok*,[11] "the calf of the leg;" the *Mahátollok*,[12] "the

1 भूर्लोक *Bhú'rlo'ka.*

2 भुवर्लोक *Bhuvarlo'ka.*

3 सुरलोक *Suralo'ka*, "the heaven of Indra, and residence of the "celestials."

4 महर्लोक *Maharlo'ka*, "a region;" said to be one Crore, or a million of Yojanas above the polar star, and to be the abode of those saints who survive the destruction of the world.

5 जन लोक *Jana-lo'ka*, "the region where the sons of Brahmá and "other pious men reside."

6 तप लोक *Tapa-lo'ka*, "the abode of Ascetics."

7 सत्य लोक *Satya-lo'ka*, "the abode of Brahma and of truth.

8 Here begin the seven divisions of the infernal regions:—अतल लोक *Atala-lo'ka*, "the region immediately below the earth."

9 वितल लोक *Vitala-lo'ka*, "the second region in descent below the "earth."

10 सुतल लोक *Sutala-lo'ka*, "the third region in descent," etc.

11 तलातल लोक *Tala'tala-lo'ka*, the fourth region," etc.

12 महातल लोक *Maha'tala-lo'ka*, "the fifth region in descent below the earth," inhabited.

" heel;" the *Rasatollok*,[1] " the upper part of the " foot;" the *Pátállok*,[2] " the sole of the foot."

There is another division limited to three spheres: the *Bhúlok*, " the sole of the Almighty's foot;" the *Bhuvarlok*, " his navel;" the *Súrlók*, " his head:" the whole fourteen gradations in detail are thus reduced to three, signifying a mighty personage, the same as the Deity.

In the same section of that volume it is also stated, that from the Almighty sprang *Svabhávah*,[3] " the " self-existing;" that is, Nature and Time; from Nature and Time proceeded forth *Prakrit*, which signifies *Símá*, " universe;"[4] from Prakrit came forth *Mahat-tat*;[5] and from this latter, which is the same as *Mádah*, " mental exaltation," issued the three *Ahankárs*, or modes of consciousness, " per-

[1] रसातल लोक *Rasa'tala-lo'ka*, " the sixth region," etc.; the residence of the Nágás, Asuras, Dáityas, and other races of monstrous and demoniacal beings, under the various governments of Sécha, Bali, and other chiefs.

[2] पाताल लोक *Pa'ta'la loka*, " the seventh infernal region," the abode of the *Na'gas*, or " serpents."—A. T.

[3] स्व भाव *Svabha'va:* derived from *Sva*, " own," and *Bha'va*, " pro- " perty."

[4] सिम *Sima*, " all," " entire."

[5] (See note, p. 11). Another internal spirit, called *Mahat*, or " the " great soul," attends the birth of all creatures imbodied, and thence in all mortal forms is conveyed a perception either pleasing or painful. Those two, the vital spirit (*Jivatman*) and reasonable soul, are closely

"sonality, egotism," *Satek, Rajas, Tamas.*[1] *Satek,* "goodness," means "the intellectual energy;" *Rajas,* or passion, "the attraction of vile propen- "sities, or "sensual pursuits;" and *Tamas* (dark- ness), "the repelling of what repugns," in Arabic, *Ghazab,* or "wrath." From *Rajas* issued forth the senses; from *Satek,* the lords of nature and the ser- vants of the existing beings; and from *Tamas* came forth *Shaid,* "enchantment;" *Shuresh,* "confusion;" *Rup,* "form;" *Darsan,* "sight;" and *Gandah,* "smell;"[2] that is, hearing, touch, sight, taste, and smell; from which five were produced the heavens, air, fire, water, and earth. Also from the three above-mentioned properties (*gunás*) the three mighty angels, *Vishna, Brahma,* and *Mahish,* came into the area of the creation.[3] Moreover, for the purpose of creation, eight other Brahmas were also impressed by the first Brahma with the characters of existence, and these became the various gradations of the spi-

united with the five elements, but also connected with the supreme spirit, or divine essence, which pervades all beings, high and low (*Menu,* b. 12., sl. 13 and 14).—D. S.

[1] सत्त्व:, रज:, तमस् *satvas, rajas, tamas,* "truth" or "existence;" "passion" or "foulness;" and "darkness" or "ignorance," are called the three great गुणा: *guna's,* or properties of all created beings.—A. T.

[2] Of these five words, the two first are Persian, the other three Sans- krit: the text is probably corrupt.—A. T.

[3] According to the *Vayu-purana* (chapt. v.) Vichnu proceeded from Satva, Brahma from Rajas, and Mahadéva, or Siva, from Tamas.—A. T.

ritual, corporeal, the high, the low, the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms.

In some of their treatises, God is the same as time, works, and nature; whilst, according to others, these are regarded as the instruments of his majesty.

In other treatises, the Almighty is held to be light, surpassingly great and splendid, of exceeding brilliancy and radiance, corporeal, invested with members.

Other descriptions represent him as pure light, abstract being, simple existence, unconfined by place exempt from transmigration, free of matter, without parts, uncompounded, divested of the attributes of accidents, and the creator of the world, and all therein contained. According to other dissertations, God is the producer of beginning and end, exhibiting himself in the mirror of pure space, containing the higher and lower, the heavenly and terrestrial bodies.

It is stated in the first part of the Bhagavat, that the truly-existing is an abstract being, one without equal or opposite, who in the various languages amongst the human race has denominations suited to the belief of his worshippers, and that the mode of attaining union with him depends on eradicating wrath, extirpating bodily gratifications, and banishing the influence of the senses, This holy essence

is called *Narâyan*,[1] whose heads, hands, and feet exceed all number.

At the period when this world and all it contains were buried under the waters, *Tot*, or "intellect" lay reclined in the sleep of unity, on the head of *Adsesh*,[2] the supporter of the earth. From the navel of this exalted being appeared the lotus flower, called by the Hindoos *Kawal*;[3] out of which arose *Brahma*, from the members of whose mighty existence all created beings hastened into the area of visibility.

It is recorded in other treatises of this sect, that they give the name of *Narâyan*, or "the majesty "without color,"[4] that is, "without the qualities of "accidents," to the absolute essence and abstract being of God, who is in pure space. They say, moreover, that his essence, which is devoid of all forms, made a personage called *Brahma*, who was constituted the medium of creation, so that he

[1] The latter part of this sentence is according to the reading of the manuscripts.—D. S.

In the edit. of Calcutta it is placed in the next line, and connected with the contents of the world, as if these had been with numberless heads, hansd, and feet.—A. T.

[2] शेष *Sésha*, "the king of the serpent-race;" "a large thousand-"headed snake;" "the couch and canopy of Vishnu;" and "the up-"holder of the world, which rests on one of his heads."—D. S.

[3] कुवल *kuvala*, from *ku*, "earth," and *vala*, "to cover."—A. T.

[4] This etymology is founded upon a wrong spelling of the name *Narang*, or *No-rang*, "no color," instead of Narâyana.—A. T.

brought all other existences from behind the curtain of nonentity into the luminous area of being. In like manner that sublime essence manifested itself in the soul of Vishnu, so that he became an *Avatár*, and to him is confided the preservation of whatever Brahma created. That glorious essence next called up Mahadeo, for the purpose of destroying Brahma's creation, whenever infinite wisdom requires the transformation of the visible into the invisible world; from which three agents arises the arrangement of all things in the universe.[1] They say that *Brahma* is an aged man with four heads; *Naráyan*, or *Vishnu*, holds in his hand the *Chakra*, or *Disk*, "a sort of weapon;" he always assumes the *Avatárs*, or "incarnations;" of which ten are greatly celebrated. *Avatár*[2] means appearance or manifestation; *Karan*[3] signifies cause; Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahadeo are called *Trikaran*, or the three causes.

In the Satya-Jog there was a Rakshas,[4] named

[1] The definitions contained in the remainder of this sentence are in the original incorporated with the text. In the present, as in every similar instance, that arrangement has not been disturbed.—D. S.

[2] अवतार *avatá'ra*, from *ava*, "down, off," and *tri*, "to cross;" signifying "descent," "translation."

[3] करण *karana*.

[4] An evil spirit, a demon, a vampire, a fiend, but who appears to be of various descriptions; and is either a powerful Titan or enemy of the gods, in a superhuman or incarnate form, as Ravana and others; or an

Sámak Asur, who performed such great religious austerities, that he became enabled to work miracles; he having taken the Anant-Ved[1] which was in Brahma's possession, and from which are derived the four Vedas given to mankind, fled into the water; on this, Vishnu, on the fifth day of the fifth month, *Chét*,[2] "March-April,"[3] in the *Kishn Bichah*, having assumed the *Matsyávátar*, or "the form of a fish," plunged into the water, slew the Rakshas, and recovered the Veda: this was the first Avatar.

The second was the *Kurmávátar*, or "that of the "tortoise." *Anant Ved* signifies "the numberless "Vedas;" *Matsya*, "a fish;" *Avatár*, "descent," or "manifestation;" *Chét*, "the fifth solar month;" *Kishn Bicheh*, "that portion of the month which is "without moonlight and when the nights are "dark."

On the twelfth of *Chét*, in the *Kishn Bicheh*, he

attendant on Kuvera and guardian of his treasures; or a mischievous and cruel goblin or ogre, haunting cemeteries, animating dead bodies, and devouring human beings. The Asurs are also demons, and of the first order; the children of Diti, by Kasyapa, engaged in perpetual hostility with the gods. According to Hindoo mythology, Kasyapa is the name of a *Muni*, or "deified sage;" who is the father of the immortals—gods and devils (*Wilson*).—D. S.

[1] अनन्त वेद् *ananta veda*, "the eternal Veda."

[2] चैत्र *Cha'itra*.

[3] कृष्ण पक्ष *Krishna paksha*, "the dark half of a month; the fifteen "days during which the moon is in the wane."

assumed the *Kurmávátár*, or "that of the tortoise." They say that the Angels and Deeves (Asurs), taking the serpent *Vásukir*,[1] formed with him a cord, and fastening this to a lofty mountain called *Mandára*,[2] made with it a churn-staff, which they moved about in the mighty ocean, whilst Naráyan remained under the mountain to prevent it from falling; and by this agitation they procured the water of life. In the kingdom of *Kalinga*, they have formed the image of a tortoise, and among the wonderful sights of that region is the following miraculous event: if they cast the bones of a Brahman or a cow into the adjacent reservoir, in the course of a year one half of it becomes stone, and the other half remains unchanged. It is worthy of remark, that some Persian astronomers represent the constellation Cancer by a tortoise, nay call it by that name, instead of *Kharchang*, or "crab." Ferdúsi, the sage, thus expresses himself:

"The lunar lord beheld the ascendancy of the tortoise."

And as they account Cancer the ascendant sign of the world, it is therefore likely that the ancient

[1] वासुकि *Vasuki*, "the sovereign of the snakes;" from *Vasu*, "a jewel," and *Ka*, "the head (*Wilson*).—D. S.

[2] The mountain with which the ocean was churned by the Surs and Asurs after the deluge, for the purpose of recovering the sacred things lost in it during that period.—D. S.

Hindú philosophers represented this constellation[1] under the figure of the *Kurma*, or "tortoise;" also by the *Matsya*, or "fish," is meant the constellation *Hút*, or "Pisces."

The third was the *Baráh*, or "boar Avátar," when a Rakshas, named *Karanyáksha*, having taken away the earth and carried it under the water, Vishnu, on the sixteenth of Chet in the *Shakl Pacheh*,[2] or "bright "half of the moon," assumed the form of a boar,

[1] The most ancient division of the Zodiac consisted of twelve signs, namely: मेष *Mesha*, the Ram; वृष *Vrisha*, the Bull; मिथुन *Mithuna*, the Pair; कर्कट *Karkat'a*, the Crab; सिंह *Sinha*, the Lion; कन्या *Kanya*, the Virgin; तुला *Tula*, the Balance; वृश्चिक *Vris'chica*, the Scorpion; धनु *Dhanu*, the Bow; मकर *Makara*, the Sea-monster; कुम्भ *Kumbha*, the Ewer; मीन *Mina*, the Fish.

Sripeti, the author of the *Retnamá'la'*, has described them in Sanscrit verse, of which the verbal translation is annexed:

"The Ram, Bull, Crab, Lion, and Scorpion have the figures of "those five animals respectively; the Pair are a damsel playing "on the vina, and a youth wielding a mace; the Virgin stands on a "boat, in water, holding in one hand a lamp, in the other an ear "of rice corn; the Balance is held by a weigher, with a weight in "one hand; the bow by an archer, whose hinder parts are like those "of a horse; the Sea-monster has the face of an antelope; the Ewer "is a water-pot borne on the shoulder of a man who empties it; "the Fishes are two, with their heads turned to each other's tails, "and all these are supposed to be in such places as suit their "separate natures" (*Sir W. Jones*, vol. I. p. 336).—D. S.

[2] शुक्ल पक्ष *su'klapaksha*, "the light half of a month; the fifteen days of "the moon's increase; or from new to full moon."—A. T.

slew the demon with his tusks and brought out the earth.

The fourth was the *Narsinha*, or "man-lion Avá-tar." There was a Rakshas named *Kiranya Kashipú*, whose son, *Prahláda*, worshipped Vishnu, and as his father persecuted him on that account, Vishnu, therefore, on the fourteenth of *Baisakh*,[1] in the *Shakl Pacha*, or "bright half of the moon," having assumed the form of the Narsingh, whose head and claws were those of a lion joined to a human body, slew the demon Kiranya Kashipú.

The fifth was the *Vá-mana*, or "dwarf Avatar." When the Rakshas, Bali daitya, through his religious exercises and austerities had become lord of the three worlds, that is, of all above the earth and below it and the heavens, so that the angels were hard pressed and deprived of their power; Vishnu, therefore, on the twelfth of *Bhadun*[2] in the *Shakl Pachah*, descended in the *Vámanah Avátár*, and coming into the presence of Bali, requested as much of the earth as he could traverse in three steps: to this Bali consented, although *Sukra*, or "the planet Venus," the director and guardian of the demons, ex-

[1] वैशाख *Va'isa'kha*, "the month in which the moon is full near the "southern scale" (April-May); the first month in the Hindu calendar. A. T.

[2] भाद्र *bhadra*, "the month when the moon is full near the wing of "Pegasus" (August-September).—A. T.

horted him not to grant the request, saying: "This "is Vishnu, who will deceive thee." Bali replied: "If he come to me as a suitor, what can answer "my purpose better?" Vishnu, on this, included the whole earth in one step, the heavens in the second, and in the third, rising up to his navel, said to Bali, "Whither can I pass?" Bali, on this, presented his head; on which Vishnu, who saw this, having placed his foot, sent *Bali*[1] below the earth, where he has ever since continued to reign with sovereign power, during many hundred thousands of years. It is to be noted, that *Vá-mana* means a dwarf, as he was a diminutive Brahman.

[1] Vámana was so small, that in his journey, when he got to the side of a hole made by a cow's foot, and which was filled with water, he thought it was a river, and entreated another Brahman to help him over it. On coming into Bali's presence, he petitioned only for as much land as he could *measure* by three steps; and the king ordered his priest, notwithstanding his remonstrances, to read the usual formulas in making such a present. Vámana then placed one foot on India's heaven, and the other on the earth; when lo! a third leg suddenly projected from his belly, and he asked for a place upon which he might rest his third foot. Bali then, by his wife's advice, gave his head for Vámana to set his foot upon; Vámana next asked for a Dakshina, "a small present which "accompanies a gift;" but Bali was unable to comply, as he had now lost every thing: in this dilemma he offered his life, which Vishnu declined taking, as he had promised Prahláda not to destroy any of his race. He therefore gave him his choice of ascending to heaven, taking with him five ignorant men; or descending to Patála, the world of the hydras, with five wise men. Bali chose the latter, as Vishnu promised to protect him against suffering punishment there for his crimes on earth.

(*Ward on the Hindoos*, vol. I. p. 7.)—D. S.

The sixth Avátar was *Paras u Rama.*[1] The *Chatri*, or "military caste," having become evil doers, in consequence of this, Vishnu, on the seventh of *Bhadun*, in the *Shakl pachah*, or "bright half of the moon," assumed the Avátar of *Parasúram*, who was of the seed of the Brahmans. In this incarnation he exterminated the Chettri class so utterly, that he even ripped open their females and slew the fœtus. According to the Hindus, *Parasuram* is always living; they call him *Chirangivah*, or "long-lived."

The seventh is the *Ram Avátar:*[2] when the tyranny of the Rakshas *Rávana*, sovereign of the demons, had exceeded all bounds, Vishnu, on the ninth of Chet in the Shaklpachah, becoming incarnate in Rama, who was of the Chettri caste, overthrew at that time Rávána, chief of the demons of *Lanka*, (Ceylon). Now Lanka is a fort built of golden ingots, situated in the midst of the salt ocean. He also recovered Sita,[3] the wife of Rama, who had

[1] परशु राम or "Ráma with an axe." He was the son of the Muni Jamadagni, born at the commencement of the second or Tréta-yug. —A. T.

[2] This is the Rama-chandra, the son of Das'arat'ha, king of Ayodhya, or the modern Oude, and born at the close of the second age.—A. T.

[3] Sitá, the daughter of the king of Mithila (the modern Tirhut) was taken away by Rávána himself, who had come from Lanka to the Indian peninsula, in order to revenge so many Rakshasas, his relations, who had been destroyed by the bravery of Ráma. This hero, having allied himself with Hanuman and Sugriva, two chiefs of savage tribes, represented

had been taken away by the Rokshas, which is a name given by the Hindoos to a frightful demon.

The eighth was the *Krishn Avátar*. When Vishnu, in the *Dwapar-Jog*, on the eighth of Bhádún, in the Kishn pachah, having assumed the Avátar of *Krishna*, slew *Kansá*. Krishna was also of the Chettri or "military caste."

The ninth was the *Budh avatar*. When ten years only of the *Dwapar-Jog* remained,[1] Vishnu, in order to destroy the demons and evil genii, the causers of night, assumed the Avátar of *Buddha*, on the third of *Baisakh*, in the Shakl pacheh.

The tenth Avátar is to occur at the expiration of the *Kali-jug*, for the purpose of destroying the Mlechas, or "enemies of the Hindoos." The *Kalki Avátar* is to take place on the third of Bhádún, in the Shakl Pachah, in the city of *Sumbul*, in the house of a Brahman named *Jasa*. *Kalki* is also to be of the Brahman caste. He will destroy the corruptions of the world, and all the Mlechas, that is, Muhammedans, Christians, Jews, and such like,

as monkeys, conquered with their assistance the island of Lanka, overthrew and slew in battle Rávaná, and recovered his wife. The narration of these events forms one of the most interesting parts of the Rámáyana, an ancient and sacred poem relating the history of Ráma-chandra. —A. T.

[1] The beginning of the Kali-yug, succeeding the Dvapar-yug, being fixed 3102 years B. C., Buddha would have appeared 3112 years B. C. —A. T.

are to be entirely extirpated: after which the Sat-yog, or "golden age," is to return.

They moreover maintain, that the contingently-existing inhabitants and beings of earth are unable to penetrate into the presence of the necessarily-existing sovereign, and that the essence of the Creator is too exalted for any created beings to attain to an acquaintance with it, notwithstanding the high knowledge and piety with which they may be adorned: it therefore seemed necessary to the Almighty God to descend from the majesty of abstractedness and absolute existence, and exhibit himself in the various species of angels, animals, man, and such like, so as to enable them to attain to some knowledge of himself. They therefore assert, that for the purpose of satisfying the wishes of his faithful servants, and tranquillizing their minds, he has vouchsafed to manifest himself in this abode, which manifestation they call an Avátar and hold this to be no degradation to his essence. This tenet has been thus interpreted by Shidosh, the son of Anosh: According to the Súfís, the first wisdom is the knowledge of God, and of the universal soul, his life; and in this place they have expatiated upon the attributes of the Almighty; thus by Brahma they mean his creative power; and by the old age of Brahma is implied his perfection: philosophers also call the first intelligence, the intel-

lectual Adam, and the universal soul, the intellectual Eve. The sage Sunai has said:

"The father and the mother of this gratifying world,
"Know, is the soul of the word,[1] and the sublime wisdom."

By Vishnu is meant his attribute of divine love, and also the universal soul; and they give the name of Avátar to the spirit derived from the soul of the first heaven; in which sense they have said: "Avá-"tars are rays issuing from Vishnu's essence."

But these sectaries do not mean that the identical spirit of Rám, on the dissolution of its connection with his body, becomes attached to the body of Krishna; for they themselves assert that Parsurám (the sixth Avátar) is immortal, and his body everlasting.

When Rámachandra became incarnate, he encountered the other; and Parsurám, having posted himself on the road with hostile intentions, Rámachandra said: "Thou art a Brahman and I a Chet-"tri: it is incumbent on me to show thee respect:" then applying the horn of his bow to Parsurám's foot, he deprived him of all power. When Parsu-

[1] The author, if even no Zoroastrian, seems to allude here to *Honover*, "pure desire," a general name for "the word of Ormuzd;" it existed before all the good and evil beings created by Ormuzd and by Ahriman; it was by pronouncing it that the first triumphed over the latter, and continued to extend and to protect the creation (*Zend-Avesta*, I. 2 P. pp. 85. 138. 140. 412. II. 347. 348. and elsewhere).—A. T.

rám found himself destitute of strength, he asked his name, and on learning that it was Ramachandra, he was greatly astonished, and said: "Has Rámachandra's Avátar taken place?" and Rámachandra having replied "Certainly," Parsurám said: "My blow is not mortal, I have taken away thy "understanding." On this account it happened that Rámachandra possessed not intelligence in his essence, and was unacquainted with his true state, wherefore they style him the *Mudgha*, or stupid Avátar.[1]

Vasishta,[2] one of the Rishies,[2] or "holy sages,"

[1] The Sri Bhagavát mentions the birth of this celebrated sage in the Satya Yog, in the heaven of Brahma, from whose mind he was born; the Kalika puranah gives an account of another birth in the Padma Kalpa, when his father's name was Mitra Varúna, and his mother's Kúmbha. The Ramáyana mentions him as priest to the kings of the solar race for many ages. This philosopher taught in substance the doctrines of the Vedanta school. He is said to have had ten thousand disciples.

(*Ward, on the Hindoos*, vol. IV. p. 19.)—D. S.

[2] Rishi, a kind of saint; that holy and superhuman personage which a king or man of the military class may become by the practice of religious austerities. Seven classes of Rishis are enumerated: the *Dévarshi, Brahmarshi, Maharshi, Paramarshi, Ra'jarshi, Ka'ndarshi*, and *Srutarshi:* the order is variously given, but the Rájarshi is inferior to the four preceding ones, and the two last appear to be the inspired saints of the Hindoo mythology.—D. S.

The simple name is especially applied to seven sages of the Bráhmarshi order, contemporary with each of the seven Menus; those of the present Manvantara are: *Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu*, and *Vasishta*. The names of each series differ: those specified also form, in astronomy, the asterism of the Greater Bear (*Wilson*).—A. T.

who is now along with his wife in the heavens, enrolled among the stars: he was the instructor of Rama, and brought him to the knowledge of himself; and his counsels to Ráma have been collected by the Rishi Valmiki in the History of Ráma, called the *Ramáyana*, and the name of *Jog-Vashishta*, given to them, which they call *Indrazaharájóg Vashishta*.[1] Some parts of these tales were selected by a Brahman of Kashmir, and afterwards translated into Persian by *Mulla Muhammed*, a Súfí. To resume: Ráma, on hearing this expression from Parsurám, said: "My arrow, however, errs not:" he then discharged some arrows which have become the janitors of paradise, and do not permit Parsurám to enter therein. This parable proves that they are by no means taken for Avátars of Naryáan; as, although Pursurám and Rám were two Avátárs of Vishnu, yet they knew not each other. Again, it is an established maxim among philosophers, that one soul cannot be united in one place with two distinct bodies. Besides, it is certain that they give the name "Avatárs of Naráyan" to the souls which emanate from the universal soul; and that they call Naráyan the soul of the empyreal, or the fourth heaven. As to their assertions that Naráyan is God,

[1] This name, repeated in the Dabistán (see hereafter the chapter upon the Nanak Panthians), never occurred to me elsewhere.—A. T.

and their acknowledging his Avátars as God, and their saying that the Almighty has deigned to appear under certain forms, all this means that a Naráyan is the same with the universal soul, which the Súfees entitle " the life of God." As life is an attribute of the Almighty, and the perfection of attributes constitutes his holy essence, consequently the souls which emanate from the universal soul, or that of the empyreal heaven, which is the life of God, know themselves, and acquire the ornaments of pure faith and good works; and also, on being liberated from body, they become identified with the universal soul, which is Vishnu, or the life of God, agreeably to this saying: " *He who knows his own soul, knows* " *God:*" that is, he becomes God.

As to their acknowledging the fish, tortoise, and boar to be incarnations of the divinity, by this they mean, that all beings are rays emanating from the essence of the Almighty, and that no degradation results to him therefrom, according to this narration of the *Mir Sáid Sharif*, of Jarjan (Georgia).

As a Súfí and rhetorician were one day disputing, the latter said: " I feel pain at the idea of a God " who manifests himself in a dog or hog:" to which the Súfee replied: " I appeal from the God who " displays not himself in the dog." On this, all present exclaimed: " One of these two must be an " infidel." A man of enlightened piety drew near,

and showing them the exact import of these expressions, said: "According to the belief of the rhetorician, the dignity of God is impaired by his manifesting himself in the dog; he is therefore distressed at the idea of a God thus deficient. But, according to the Súfee, the non-appearance of God in that animal would be a diminution of his dignity, he therefore appeals against a God deficient in this point: consequently, neither of them is an infidel." So that, in fact, the Súfis and these sectaries entertain the same opinions.

The author of this work once said to Shídósh: "We may affirm that by the fish is meant the lord, or conservative angel, of water;" as, according to their mythology, a demon having taken the Vedas under that element, was pursued and slain by Vishnu, and the Vedas brought back: thus their mention of a fish originated from its inseparable connection with water. By the tortoise is meant the lord, or conservative angel, of earth; as their mythology relates, that the Avátar of the tortoise occurred for the purpose of the earth being supported on its back, as is actually the case; they have also especially mentioned the tortoise, as it is both a land and aquatic creature, and that after water comes earth. By the boar are meant the passions and the propagation of living creatures; and as to the tradition of a demon having stolen away the earth and taken it

under the water, and of his being pursued by Vishnu under the form of a boar, and slain by his tusks, its import is as follows: the demon means dissolute manners, which destroyed the earth with the deluge of sensuality; but on the aid of the spirit coming, the demon of dissoluteness was overthrown by the tusks of continence: the boar is particularly mentioned, because its attribute is sensuality; and it was reckoned an Avátár, because continence is virtue. The *Narsinh*, or "man-lion," is the lord, or conservative angel of heroism; and as this constitutes a most praiseworthy quality, they said, that the Narsinh was a form with a lion's head and a human body, for when they spoke of impetuous bravery in a man, they made use of the term "lion." By *Vámana*, or "dwarfish stature," they meant, the lord of reason, strength of reflection, and an intellectual being; the dwarfish stature implying that, notwithstanding a diminutive person, important results may be obtained through him; as in almost a direct allusion to this, people say: "An intelligent man of "small stature is far superior to the tall block-"head." By Rajah *Bali*, they typify generosity and liberality.

Shidósh was delighted at this interpretation, and said: "They have also recorded that Krishna had "sixteen thousand wives; and when one of his "friends who thought it impossible for Krishna to

" visit all of them, said to try him: ' Bestow on me
" ' one of thy wives,' Krishna answered: ' In what-
" ' ever female's apartment thou findest me not, she
" ' is thine.' His friend went into the different
" apartments, but in every one of them he beheld
" the god engaged in conversation with its mis-
tress." This story implies, that the love of Krishna was so rooted in their hearts, that they cared for none besides, having his image present to their eyes, and dwelling every moment on his beloved idea.

The tradition of Vishnu's always bearing the Chakra in his hand (a kind of military weapon), alludes to the knowledge and decisive demonstration which are unattainable without the aid of soul.

In Mahadeo, they allude to our elementary nature by the serpent twined round his neck; they mean anger, and the other reprehensible qualities which result from corporeity; by his being mounted on a bull, the animal propensities; by the tradition of his place of repose being the site for burning the dead, is signified, the total dispersion of the particles of bodies and the perishable nature of things. Mahadeo's drinking poison is also to the same purport. In this sense they also say that Mahadeo is the destroyer of all worldly things; that is, elemental nature imperatively requires the dissolution of combination (connection), and that ultimately death comes in the natural course.

They also hold that every angel has a wife (female energy), of a similar generic constitution, and originally derived from Brahma; and as we have before stated, the philosophers call the first intelligence the True Sire, and the universal soul, Eve; and thus he is the head and the wife the shoulder; the universal soul is the body of the empyreal heaven; and in like manner the other celestial souls and bodies have wives of the elementary nature; as they give the appellation of wife, or energy, to whatever is the manifest source of action.

Moreover the established doctrine held by these sectaries is, that each class should worship a particular angel, and the wife or female energy of that angel; the worshipper regarding the object of his adoration as God, and all others, as created beings; for example, many believe Naráyan to be the supreme God; several others, look up to Mahadéo, and many to the other male and female divinities; and thus, pursuant to the four Védas, which according to their common belief are a celestial revelation, they do not hold any angel who is the object of their praise as distinct from God: by which they mean that God, who is without equal, having manifested himself under innumerable modes of appearance, contemplates the glorious perfection of his essence in the mirrors of his attributes; so that, from the most minute atom to the solar orb,

his holy and divine essence is the source of all that exists.

" To whatever quarter I directed my sight, thou appearedst there;
" How widely art thou multiplied, even when thy features are unseen!'

The Fakir Arzú says: the above interpretation is confirmed by this tradition of the Hindus, that *Agasti*,[1] a star, was formerly a holy man, who once collected all the waters in the palm of his hand, and swallowed the whole; which means that Agasti is the same as Sohail, a star adjacent to the south pole, on the rising of which, all the water that has fallen from heaven is dried up, agreeably to the Arabic saying:

" *When Suhail ascends, the torrents subside.*"

Many enigmatical and figurative expressions of a similar description occur in their writings; for example, *Mahésh* or *Mahadeo*, is an angel with matted locks and three eyes, which are the sun, moon, and fire; he has also five heads; his necklace is formed of a serpent, and his mantle of an elephant's hide. There are nine Brahmas, eleven Rudras or Maha-

[1] The name of a saint celebrated in Hindu mythology, more usually entitled *Agastya*, the son of both *Mitra* (the sun) and *Varuna* (the lord of waters) by *Urvasi* (a nymph of heaven); he is represented of short stature, and is said by some to have been born in a water-jar: he is famed for having swallowed the ocean, when it had given him offence; at his command also the Vindhya range of mountains prostrated itself, and so remains; hence his present appellation: he is also considered as the regent of the star Canopus—(*Wilson's Dictionary, sub voce*).—A. T.

deos, twelve suns, and ten regions, viz.: east, west, south, north, zenith, *Nadir*, *Akni*, "between east "and south;" *Nireti*, "between south and west;" *Dayab*, "between west and north;" and *Isan*, "between north and east." The angels are in number thirty-three Kotes, or three hundred and thirty millions, each Kote consisting of one hundred Laks, or ten millions. These angels have spiritual wives, who produce a spiritual offspring. They likewise hold human spirits to be an effulgence proceeding from the divine essence; if to knowledge they add good works, with a clear perception of themselves and of God, they return to their original source; but should they not know themselves and God, and yet perform praiseworthy acts, they dwell in Paradise, where they remain during a period of time proportioned to their meritorious works; on the expiration of which period they are again sent down to this lower world, and again to receive a recompense proportioned to their deeds.

The actions even of the inhabitants of Paradise undergo an investigation, and are attended with reward or punishments duly graduated. They also hold that all those persons who are not sufficiently worthy of entering into paradise, but who have observed religious ordinances in order to obtain dominion and worldly enjoyments, shall acquire

their object in a future generation. They also say, in respect to any great personage, in whose presence the people stand girt with the cincture of obedience, that the rewards and results are, that this person continues in a suppliant attitude devoted to the service of God and those individuals who prostrate themselves before him, are in fact humbling themselves in adoration of the Almighty; in short, they hold all splendor and greatness as the rewards of alms and good works; thus they relate that whilst the incarnation of Rámchandra abode in the desert, he sent his brother Lachman to bring some roots of herbs in order to break his fast; but, notwithstanding a diligent search, he being unable to find any, returned and represented this to Rámchand, who replied: "The earth abounds in food and drink; "but in a former generation, on this very day, I "omitted the performance of an act which would "have been well pleasing in the sight of God, "namely, that of contributing to the sustenance of "indigent Brahmans."

They moreover believe that evil-doers, after death, become united to the bodies of lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, swine, bears, reptiles, plants, and minerals, in this world, and receive under these forms their well merited punishment; but that those who have been guilty of aggravated crimes are hurried off to the infernal regions, where they remain suffering

torture during a period of time proportioned to their evil deeds; and when they have undergone the destined punishment, they again return to this world. They also believe that there is in paradise a sovereign, named Indra, and that whoever offers up a hundred *Aswamédas*, [1] becomes Indra. When his appointed time in paradise, in the full enjoyment of sovereign power has passed, he is on the expiration of that period to descend to the lower world, and there obtains a recompense proportioned to his

[1] अश्वमेध *as'vamédha*, from *as'va*, "a horse," and *médha*, "a sacrifice." Colebrooke, in his Essay on the Védas (*As. Res.*, VIII., ed. Calc.) states, that the horse is "avowedly an emblem of *Viraj*, or the primeval "and universal manifested being. In the last section of the *Taittiríya* "*Yajurvéda*, the various parts of the horse's body are described as "divisions of time and portions of the universe: morning is his head; "the sun, his eye; air, his breath; the moon, his ear; etc. A similar "passage in the fourteenth book of the *Sa'tapat'ha bra'hman'a*, describes "the same allegorical horse for the meditation of such as cannot perform "an As'vamédha; and the assemblage of living animals, constituting an "imaginary victim at a real As'vamédha, equally represent the universal "Being, according to the doctrines of the Indian scripture. It is not "however certain, whether this ceremony did not also give occasion to "the institution of another, apparently not authorized by the Védas, in "which a horse was actually sacrificed." That this was really the case, we may infer from the frequent mention of such sacrifices, made in the historical poems of the Hindus and from the analogous instances of them found among the Western nations. The Massageti and the Persians sacrificed horses to the sun; the Magians also to the rivers (see *Herod.*, l. I. VII.; *Xenoph.*, l. VIII. See also upon the sacrifice of a horse, *Exposé de quelques-uns des principaux articles de la Théogonie des Brahmes*, par M. l'abbé Dubois, ci-devant Missionnaire dans le Meissour. Paris, 1823).—A. T.

acts. Moreover, Indra's spouse is named Sachí Devi, and falls to the share of the person who attains the rank of Indra. Note : by Aswaméda is meant the sacrifice of a horse of a certain color, and according to certain established rites. However, by Aswaméd, their learned doctors understand " abnegation of the mind :" for imagination is a fierce charger, the sacrifice of which is an imperative duty on the religious ascetic; or it may allude to the destruction of the animal passions.

They also believe that angelic beings are subject to concupiscence, and wrath, and the cravings of hunger and thirst; their food consisting of perfumes and incense, sacrifices, meat and drink offerings, with the alms and oblations made by mankind; and their beverage, the water of life.

They also assert that the stars were holy personages, who, on leaving this world of gloom, through the efficacy of religious mortifications became luminous bodies, ascending from the lower depths of this abode of the elements to the zenith of the crystalline sphere; nay, their birth-place, name, family, with the names of their fathers and grandfathers, are carefully enumerated in the sacred volumes of this sect. Thus they say that Sanicher (the slow-traveller) or Saturn, is the son of the glorious Luminary; and Mirrikh or Mars, the son of the Earth; the world-enlightening sun, the issue of *Kashyapa*,

the son of Maríchí, the son of Brahma ; Zóhrah (or the regent of Venus) the son of *Bhrigu;* and *Utáred* (Mercury) the son of *Kamer* (the regent of the moon). Some however maintain the moon to be the son of Attri the Holy, but, according to others he is sprung from the sea of milk.

[1] * These opinions contain a marked allusion to * the tenets held by the distinguished Parsi sages, * namely, that the intellectual soul has a relation to * that sphere with which its good actions are con- * nected: they consequently apply the denomina- * tion of Sun to the spirit of one united to the sun, * and his father is entitled " the father of the Sun." *

The writer of this work once observed to Shídósh, the son of Anosh : " Perhaps they mean by the sires " of the stars, their presiding intelligences, as in " the technical language of philosophers, the name " of sires is also given to the intelligences, on which " account Jesus called the Almighty ' Father.' "

According to them the elements are five in number, the fifth being the Akas (or ether), which word in its common acceptation means " the heavens ;" but according to the learned it implies empty space, or space void of matter. One of their distinguished doctors, *Sumitra,* son of the Ray of Kalinga, holds that *Akas,* which the Greek Platonists call *space,* is

[1] The passage between the asterisks is not in the manuscripts.—D. S.

simple and uncompounded. Damudar Das Kaul, a learned Brahman of Kashmir, also holds Akas to signify *space;* and space is understood by the Platonists among the Yonian to be an extent void of any substance (a vacuum), which may be divided into parts, *the totality* of which *parts* may be equivalent to that extent of the general vacuum which is congruous and equal to it, in such a manner as to comprise every particle of that extent which is the space in every *particular* division of the general space. There is an extent interposed between two things, and this extent is void and free of matter. According to their account, no better interpretation of *Akas* than that which is conveyed by the word space, can be offered.[1]

[1] This passage, relative to space, is as obscure as the subject itself is metaphysical. The notions here expressed are in accordance with the Vedanta doctrine, by which *akas*, or "pure ether," is the universal space, including all, and the vacuum between the separate objects therein. There is a vacuum unconnected with every thing, and in it these particular vacuums are absorbed. This appears conformable enough with modern philosophy, but the Hindus applied it to the divine spirit itself: thus, they say that there is a perfect spirit, in which individual souls and the aggregation of all souls take refuge, and so Brahma and the individuated spirits are one: both pure life. We may here recollect that sir Isaac Newton, in attempting to define space, compared it to "Something "like the organ of divinity." According to the Vedanta-sara, there is no difference between the all-ruling spirit and that of the sage; as there is none between the forest and the trees and the inclosed atmosphere; or between the lake and the parts of the water, and the image of the sky which falls in it. We are informed by Damascius, an author of the sixth century of our era, who quotes Eudemos, a disciple of Aristotle (*Wolfii*

They moreover assert that the heavens have no existence, and that the constellations and stars are fixed in the air. According to them there are seven *samudras*, that is oceans, on this earth: the salt sea, that of sugar-cane juice, the sea of spirituous liquors, that of clarified butter, the sea of curds, the lacteal, and lastly, that of sweet waters. They also say that there rises above the earth a mountain called *Su-Meru*[1] entirely formed of the purest gold, on which the angelic beings reside, and around which the stars revolve. There are nine spheres, namely: those of the seven planets, with those of *Rás* and *Zanab* (the head and tail of the dragon), which are also borne along in their celestial vehicles. *Rás* and *Zanab* are two demons who drank the water

Anect. Græca, t. III. p. 259), that the united intellectual all is called "space" by the Magians and by the whole race of the Arians, which name may be applied to the nations inhabiting the countries situated to the East and West of the Indus.—A. T.

[1] The earth according to the Hindus is circular and flat, like the flower of the water-lily, in which the petals project beyond each other: its circumference being four thousand millions of miles. In the centre is mount Sumeru, ascending six hundred thousand miles from the surface of the earth, and descending one hundred and twenty-eight thousand below it. It is one hundred and twenty-eight thousand miles in circumference at its base, and two hundred and fifty-six thousand wide at the top. On this mountain are the heavens of Vishnu, Siva, Indra, Agni, Yama, Noirita, Varúna, Váyú, Kúvéra, Isha, and other gods. The clouds ascend to about one-third of the height of the mountain: at its base are the mountains Mandara, Gundha-mádana, Vipúla, and Súpárshwa, on each of which grows a tree eight thousand eight hundred miles high (*Ward's Hindoos*, vol. III. p. 3). – D. S.

of life, whom Vishnu, at the suggestion of the sun and moon, smote with a weapon called the *Chákra*, or disk, and rent open their throats; in revenge for which, the moon is devoured by *Rás*, and the sun by *Zanab*; but as their throats are rent open, whatever is taken in at the mouth issues at the aperture in the throat: by this allegory they allude to the lunar and solar eclipses.[1]

Brahma dwells in a city called *Rást Lok*;[2] Vishnu in a region called *Vaikanth*; and Mahadeo on a mountain of silver named *Káilasa*. They also maintain that the fixed stars have no actual existence, but that the objects which shine by night are couches of gold set with diamonds and rubies, on which the inhabitants of paradise repose. * On this Shidosh * remarks: "It is agreed that paradise means the * "heavens, and also that the fixed stars are in the

[1] According to the Máhábharat, when the *Su'ras* and *Asu'ras* (the gods and *Da'ityas*, or "demons") had, by the whirling of the ocean, obtained the *Amrita*, or "the nectar of immortality," a fierce dispute arose among them about the possession of it; but Vishnu succeeded in obtaining it for the Súras. Ráhu, a demon under the disguise of a Súra, was about to drink it, when, informed of it by the sun and the moon, the god just mentioned, by a blow with his chakra, struck off the demon's head, which, flying up to heaven, since keeps an inextinguishable hatred against the two luminaries who had betrayed him, and now and then swallows the sun or the moon.—A. T.

[2] The name of Brahma's heaven is properly सत्य लोक *satya loka*, "the world of truth."

* The words between the asterisks are not in the manuscripts.—D. S.

* "eighth heaven; so that, consequently, the hea-
* " vens constitute the couches of the souls." * [1]

They esteem the majesty of the great light as the supreme of angelic beings, and on a careful investigation of their books, acknowledge no existence as superior to him in dignity; as the constitution of elemental compounds, and the existence of all beings is dependent on and connected with his auspicious essence. They moreover regard Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesh, the radiance and reflexion of his light; saying, it is his majesty alone which, by its acts and operations, is called by these three names. They represent him as a sovereign, in the human form, seated in a chariot which signifies the fourth heaven, to which are attached seven horses, with angels and spiritual beings, accompanied by royal trains and gorgeous pomp, continually passing before his majesty. They also esteem him as the source of existence and as universal existence. * They also believe * the earth to be the skin of a Raksh or evil genius, * who was put to death, and his skin stretched out: * the mountains are his bones; the waters his blood; * the trees and vegetables his hair. By Raksh they * mean a demon, which here implies the material * elements on this earth, which according to them * is supported on four legs; alluding in this to the

[1] Not in the manuscripts.—D. S.

* nature and number of the elements, each of which * rests on its own centre.

* According to them Saturn limps, which typifies * his long period of revolution; and *Bhúm*, or * *Marikh*, "Mars," is a demon, on which account * they ascribe to him a malignant influence. * *Zoharah*, or "the regent of Venus," is the director of the demons, and to this planetary spirit they ascribe the sciences and religions of the barbarians, and the creeds of foreign nations.

The Muhammedan doctors say, that Islamism is connected with this planet, from which source proceeds the veneration paid by them to Friday, or the day of Venus. *Múshteri*, "Jupiter," is accounted the director of the angels, and the teacher of the system of Brahma, which is conveyed in a celestial language, not used at present by any beings of elemental formation: thus, although the Koran is a divine revelation, the language of it is in general use among the Arabs; but the four Véds which the Hindus account a celestial volume, is written in Sanskrit, a language spoken in no city whatever, and found in no book, save those of a particular sect: it is called by them "the speech of angelic beings." The Véda was given to them by Brahma, for the due arrangement of human concerns. By angels or divine beings, they mean eloquent speakers, and learned authors, who, being illuminated by the

effulgence of primitive wisdom, interpreted whatever was revealed to them. It is to be remarked, that every one who pleases may derive from the Védas arguments in favour of his particular creed, to such a degree, that they can support by clear proofs the philosophical, mystical, unitarian, and atheistical systems, faith, and religion; Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, fire-worship, the tenets of the Sonites, or those of the Shíâs, etc.; in short, these volumes consist of such ingenious parables and sublime meanings, that all who seek may have their wishes fulfilled.

They say that the Almighty is a great body, and that all other beings are in his belly; which resembles the opinions maintained by the venerable Shaikh Shahbáb ud deen Maktúl, whose tomb may God sanctify! namely, that the universe is one body, which contains all others in existence, and is called the universal body. It has one spirit, which comprehends all others, and is called the universal soul; and one single object of intelligence, from which they derive all intelligences, calling it the universal intelligence. It is stated in the Mujmal al Hikmat, or Compendium of Philosophy, that the Almighty is the spirit of spirit; and according to *Azar Húshangian*, "the intellect of intellect." *Shaikh Bó Ali*[1]

[1] A particular account of the Muhammedan doctors is to be given hereafter.—A. T.

(whose place of repose may God illuminate!) thus speaks:

"The Almighty is the soul of the universe, and the universe the reunion
" of all bodies;
"The different angelic hosts are the senses of this frame;
"The bodies, the elements, and the three kingdoms are its members;
"All these are comprehended in the divine unity; all other things are
" illusion."

This sect gives the appellation of *Rakshas*, which means evil genii or demons, to all those who do not profess their faith, and who perform not good works.

Time, in Hindawi *Kal*, is a measure of the movement of the great sphere, according to the philosophers of Greece and Persia. The author has also heard from the Brahmans, and in conformity to the opinions ascribed to the most distinguished persons of their caste, it is stated in the work entitled *Muadan Ushshaffai Iskandari* (a selection taken from several Hindi medical treatises), that time, according to the Hindu philosophers, is a necessarily-subsisting immaterial substance, durable, incorporeal, that will ever last, and admits not of annihilation. Time has been divided into three kinds, namely, past, present, and future; but, as in their opinion time admits neither of alteration nor extinction, these divisions are not in reality its attributes, although correctly used when applied to acts performed in time. According to the succession of acts, they figuratively describe

time as past, present, and future; as in reference to the solar revolutions and phases, they call it by the names of days, nights, months, years, and seasons: in short, they have so many intricate distinctions of this same nature, that the mere attempt to enumerate them would fill several volumes. They all agree that this world is to continue for four ages: the first, the *Rast yug*, "the righteous,"[1] which lasted one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand common years; during which, all human beings, high and low, exalted and humble, princes and servants, adhered to the practice of righteousness and truth, passing their glorious existence in a manner conformable to the divine will, and devoted to the worship of the Almighty; the duration of human life in this age extended to one hundred thousand common years. The second, the *Treta Yug*,[2] which lasted one million two hundred and ninety-six thousand common years: during this period, three-fourths of the human race conformed to the divine will, and the natural duration of life extended to ten thousand years. The third was the *Dwapar Yug*,[3] which lasted eight hundred and

[1] In Sanskrit कृत युग *Krita-Yugam* and सत्य युग *Satya-Yugam*, "the "righteous age."—D. S.

[2] त्रेतायुग from त्रै *trai*, "to preserve.

[3] द्वापर युग *Dwapar*, from *dwa*. "two," and *par*, "after, subse- "quent."

sixty-four thousand ordinary years, during which one half the human race performed good works and their life was limited to a thousand years. The fourth is the *Kali Yug*,[1] or "iron age," which is to last four hundred and thirty-two thousand years, during which three-fourths of the human race will be immersed in sin, infatuation, and evil works, and the term of human life reduced to a hundred and twenty ordinary years. These four ages (4,320,000 years) they call a *Chakra*, and seventy-one Chakras a *Manwantar*; on the expiration of seventy-one Chakras, there elapses one day of the life of India, the ruler of the upper world; and on the expiration of fourteen Manwantars, reckoned according to the preceding calculation, one day of Brahma's life is terminated.

They say, that the Almighty, having united himself with Brahma's body, created the world through his medium: Brahma thus became the Creator, and brought mankind into existence, making them of four classes, namely: the *Brahman*, *Chattriya*, *Vaisya*, and *Sùdra*. To the first were assigned the custody of laws and the establishment of religious ordinances; the second class was formed for the purposes of government and external authority, being appointed the medium for introducing order

[1] The beginning of the Kali Yug is placed about 3001 years anterior to the Christian æra. -D. S.

into human affairs; the third was composed of husbandmen, cultivators, artisans, and tradesmen; and the fourth for every description of service and attendance. All races not comprised in one of these four divisions are not accounted of human origin but of demoniacal descent: however the demons or Rakshas, through the practice of religious austerities, attained to such dignity that Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesh (Siva) became their attendants. Thus Rávan,[1] through the efficacy of religious mortification, became lord of the world and its inhabitants; Brahma was reader of the Vedas at his court; the sun filled the office of cook; the clouds were his cup-bearers, and the wind his chamberlain.

[2] Finally, according to the sectaries, the life of Brahma lasts a hundred extraordinary years of three hundred and sixty days, with nights corresponding to the days,[3] so that up to the present time, that is,

[1] For a more detailed account of the occupations of the several deities, male and female, see *Moore's Hindu Pantheon*, p. 333; and also plates, 52 and 54. —D. S.

[2] A month of mortals is a day and a night of the *Pitris*, or patriarchs inhabiting the moon; and the division of a month being into equal halves, the half beginning from the full moon is their day for actions; and that beginning from the new moon is their night for slumber.

A year of mortals is a day and a night of the gods, or regents of the universe, seated round the north pole; and again their division is this: their day is the northern, and their night the southern, course of the sun. —D. S.

[3] Learn now the duration of a day and a night of Brahma, and of the several ages which shall be mentioned in order succinctly:

the period of composing this work, in the year of the Hejira 1055 (A. D. 1645), there have elapsed four thousand seven hundred and forty-six years of the Kali-Yug. So many Brahmas have appeared, that the sums of their years exceed the limits of human comprehension; they have merely a tradition that one thousand Brahmas have successively appeared and been annihilated; so that the present is the thousand and first, of whose life fifty years and half a day are expired, which commences the half-day of the fifty-first year. As soon as the age of Brahma terminates, according to the preceding calculation, or amounts to the destined number, he then forms twelve blazing suns, whose heat and splendor consume alike both earth and water, so

Sages have given the name of Krita to an age containing four thousand years of the gods; the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it of the same number.

In the other three ages, with their twilights preceding and following, are thousands and hundreds diminished by one.

The divine years, in the four ages just enumerated, being added together, their sum, or twelve thousand, is called the age of the gods.

And by reckoning a thousand such divine ages, a day of Brahma may be known: his night also has an equal duration.

The before-mentioned age of the gods, or twelve thousand of their years, being multiplied by seventy one, constitutes a Manvantara, or the reign of a Menu.

There are numberless Manvantaras: creations also, and destructions of worlds innumerable: the Being supremely exalted performs all this with as much ease as if in sport; again and again for the sake of conferring happiness (*Haughton's Menu*, p. 11. 12. 13).—D. S.

that there remains not a vestige of this world or its productions, and mankind plunge beneath the waters, which catastrophe is called *Pralaya*, in Hindawi: after this event, another Brahma appears and creates the world anew, which process of dissolution and reproduction continues to all eternity. The *Hakim Umr Khakani* says:

"Those who adorn the heavens, which are a particle of time,
"Come, and depart again, re-appear on the same stage—
"For, in the skirts of heaven and the robe of earth, there is
"A creation which is successively born as long as God exists."

By the prolonged periods of duration ascribed to these celestial personages, they allude to the antiquity of the world, which is so immensely great that it cannot be comprised in numbers. The man of spiritual attributes, Shídosh, the son of Anosh, says: "On the termination of the great cycle, human "creatures reappear, and the water enveloping the "terrestrial globe becomes of the same radical "constitution as the waters on high; again, through "the intense heat of the luminary, the water dis-"appears, and twelve suns are formed: from the "ascent of vapors and the blending of exhalations, "the celestial disks are enveloped, when the tailed "comets, which the Persians call 'minor suns,' and "the Arabs *Shamseyat*, or 'smaller solar bodies,'[1]

[1] The manuscript omits all the words after "smaller solar bodies," observe the asterisks.—D. S.

* " consume alike the humid and the dry: such is
* " the necessary termination of that cycle: the
* " world and its inhabitants will be created anew."*
Mulla Ismail Suffi, of Isfahan, says:

" The world which is one, the creator, and the creation,
" Both these worlds are like the scum of his cup;
" This revolution of time resembles a painted lantern,
" Which, notwithstanding its motion, remains in the same position."

The assertion " that only the four classes above " enumerated are of human race," implies that this denomination is attached to the professors of humanity, virtue, and discrimination; superior to which is showing mercy to the animal creation; also the knowledge of one's self and of the Creator; nay, the person destitute of these characteristics has no share of the nature of man. Thus the sage Ferdusi says:

" Whoever deviates from the path of humanity
" Is to be accounted a demon, and not of human race."

* According to these sectaries, the worship offered to the forms of Mahadeo and Naráyan, and to the statues of the other spiritual beings, is highly to be commended. Strangers to their faith suppose them to look upon the idol as God, which is by no means the case, their belief being as follows: " The idol is " merely a Kiblah, and they adore under that par- " ticular form, the Being who has neither accident " nor form."

Moreover, as mankind is an assemblage composed of superiors and inferiors, they have made images of the directors of the people, and constituted them their Kiblah: besides, as all things exhibit the power of the Almighty, they form images according to their similitude. They also say, that as the Avátars are radiant emanations of the divine essence, they therefore make images on their likeness, and pay them worship: so that, whatever is excellent in its kind, in the mineral, vegetable, or animal world, is regarded with veneration, as well as the uncompounded elementary substances, and the starry spheres. Rai Manuhar Kuchwáhhah has said:

"O Moslem! if the Kábah be the object of thy worship,
"Why dost thou reproach the adorers of idols?"

SECTION THE THIRD, CONCERNING THE RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND CEREMONIES OF THE SAMARTAGANS (SMARTAS), OR ORTHODOX OF THE HINDUS.—According to this class, there are two kinds of birth: the first, on quitting the maternal womb; the second, on the day of assuming the *Munji*[1] or *Zanar*, and repeating the established forms of prayer; as, until a person has scrupulously performed both these rites, he is not regarded as

[1] *Munji*, a sort of grass, from the fibres of which a string is prepared, of which the triple thread worn by the Brahman should be formed (*Saccharum munja Rox*)—(*Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.*)—D. S.

orthodox, nor an observer of their institutes. Under this are contained the *Shodásán-Karmáni*,[1] "sixteen "heads," commencing with the woman being purified from periodical illness; her attachment to her husband; the forms of prayer necessary to be used on the occasion, and observed until the moment of death; and the acts of charity enjoined to be performed after the person's decease.

Of their laudable customs are the following: 1. the *Garbh-ádáhna-karma*,[2] or delivering the likeness of a son, that is, giving up a daughter to her husband; 2. the *Pungsavana*,[3] or reciting at the pro-

[1] Ward enumerates only ten *Sanskara*, or "ceremonies:" *Garbhá-dhána, Púngsavana, Simonton nayana, Já'ta-karma, Nishkramana, Ná'ma-karana, Anna-prá'shana, Chú'ra-karana, Upanayana*, and *Vivá'ha* (vol. III. p. 71).

[2] The above interpretation is not correct; the name of the ceremony गर्भाधान is derived from "*Garbha*, "the fœtus," and *adhan*, "taking;" according to Wilson's Dictionary, a ceremony performed prior to conception; but, according to Ward, a ceremony to be performed four months after conception, including a burnt sacrifice, the worship of the Shálgráma, and all the forms of the Nándi-Múkhí-Shrádda. The Shalgrama (from *Shal*, "to move, to shake," and *Grama*, "a village") the *œtites*, or "eagle-stone," black, hollow, and nearly round, said to be brought from mount Gandaki, in Nepaul — an emblem of Vishnu (see Ward, vol I. p. 283-4-5).—D. S.

[3] पुंसवन. A religious and domestic festival, held on the mother's perceiving the first signs of a living conception: from *pung*, "a male," and *shu*, "to bear."

Ná'ndi-Mukha-Srá'ddha, funeral obsequies performed on joyous occasions, as initiation, marriage, etc., in which nine balls of meat are offered

per season the prayers enjoined to be said, that a virtuous offspring may be born; 3. the *Símantonnayana*,[1] that is, in the sixth month of a woman's pregnancy, the recitation of the proper forms of prayer and giving a feast to Brahmans; 4. the *Játakarma*,[2] or the rites to be practised by the father on the birth of a son, in regard to ablution; *Hóm*, or burnt offerings; *Jap*, or devout meditation and acts of charity; 5. the *Náma-karana*,[3] when, on the eleventh day after the child's birth, they give it a name and repeat the necessary forms of prayer; 6. on the

to the deceased father, paternal grandfather, and great grandfather; to the maternal grandfather, great grandfather, and great great grandfather; to the mother, paternal grandmother, and paternal great grandmother: from *Nandi*, "good fortune," and *Mukha*, "principal."

[1] सीमन्तोन्नयन a purificatory and sacrificial ceremony observed by women, on the fourth, sixth, or eighth month of their pregnancy: from *Simanta*, "a portion of the hair," and *Unnayana*, "arranging;" this forming an essential part of the ceremony—(*Wilson*).

[2] जात कर्म from *Jata*, "born," and *karma*, "an act practised at the "moment of birth," in which the Shrádaha, "the burnt sacrifice," and other ceremonies, which occupy about two hours, are performed, and then the umbilical cord is cut—(*Ward*, vol. III. p. 73).

[3] नामकरण from *Na'man*, "a name," and *Kri*, "to make"—(*Ward's Glossary*).

The first part of a Brahman's compound name should indicate holiness; of a Chatriya's, power; of a Vaisya's, wealth; and of a Sudra's, contempt. Let the second part of the priest's name imply prosperity; of the soldier's, preservation; of the merchant's, nourishment; of the servant's, humble attendance. The names should be agreeable, soft, clear, captivating the fancy, auspicious, ending in long vowels, resembling words of benediction (*Haughton's Menu*, p. 25).

fourth month they bring out the child, which they call the *Nish-kramana;*[1] 7. giving the child suitable food and at a propitious moment, which they call *Anna-prásanna;*[2] 8. at the age of three years they shave the child's head and bore its ears, which rite they call *Chúd á-karana,*[3] or the ceremony of forming the crest at the first tonsure of a Hindu. They are strictly enjoined to observe the above eight ceremonies; and if the child be of the female sex, they practise the same rites, but without the stated forms of prayer; excepting at the time of her marriage, when they are bound to recite the forms appropriated to that ceremony. 9. In his fifth year, they bind around the child's waist a string which they call *Sútram;*[4] this rite they call *Mungi;*[5] the string is

[1] निष्क्रमण from *Nir*, "forth," and *Kram*, "to step:" carrying the child out of the house to see the sun, and offering up petitions for the long life and prosperity of the child.

[2] अन्न प्राशन from *Anna*, "food," and *prá'sanna*, "feeding" (*Ward's Vocabulary*).—In the sixth month, he should be fed with rice; or that may be done which, by the custom of the family, may be thought most propitious" (*MS.*, p. 25).—For the goddess Anna Perenna of the Romans, the Anna-purna of the Hindus, from *Anna*, "rice," and *purna*, "to "fill" (see *As Res.*, vol. VIII. p. 69. 85).

[3] चूड़ाकर्ण from *Chú'd'a*, "a single lock of hair left on the crown of the "head at the ceremony of the first tonsure," and *Karana*, "the act of "making."

[4] सूत्र *Sú'tra*, "a thread in general; a string, or collection of threads," as that worn by the three first classes—(*Wilson*).

[5] मुञ्ज *Munja*, "a sort of grass" from the fibres of which a string is pre-

to be made of the bark of the *Darbha*;[1] 10. three days after investing the boy with the Sutra, they should put the Zanar, or "sacrificial thread,"[2] about his neck, which they call the *Yajnópavíta*;[3] 11. on assuming the Brahmanical thread they are, by way of charity, to bestow a cow on the Brahmans, which act they call *Gódán*;[4] 12. is the ablution of the body with milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, and sugar, which they call the *Ashnan-panjah* and *Paraish-chat*;[5] 13. when the boy reaches his fifteenth year, they make him master of a household; this they call *Viváhah*,[6] or "matrimony;" 14. the son, after the de-

pared, of which the triple thread worn by the Brahman should be formed (*Saccharum Munja* —(*Wilson*).

[1] दर्भ *Darbha*, *Cu'sa*, or "sacrificial grass"—(*Wilson*).

The girdle of a priest must be made of Munja, in a triple cord, smooth and soft; that of a warrior must be a bow-string of Murva; that of a merchant, a triple thread of Sana. If the Munja be not procurable, their zones must be formed respectively of the grasses Cusa Asmantaca, valvaja, in triple strings, with one, three, or five knots, according to the family custom—(*MS.* p. 26).

[2] The sacrificial thread of a Brahman must be made of cotton, so as to be put on over his head, in three strings; that of a Chatriya, of Sana thread only; that of a Vaisya, of woollen thread—(*MS.* p. 27).

[3] The यज्ञोपवीत or "sacrificial cord," originally worn by the three principal casts of Hindus; at present, from the loss of the pure Chatriya and Vaisya casts in Bengal, confined to the Brahmanical order: from *Yajna*, "a sacrifice," and *Upavi'ta*, "a thread."

[4] गो दान *Go-da'na*, from *Go*, "a cow," and *Da'na*, "a gift."

[5] Probably अशन पञ्च or पञ्च तन्त्र *asana pancha*, or *pancha tantra*, "five things."

[6] विवाह.

cease of his father, performs the requisite charities and donations, which they call *Pind-pradán*;[1] 15. on the 7th of the month *Mágha*,[2] when the majesty of the great luminary is in Aquarius, they are to present the Brahmans with pulse, barley, wheat, black rice, sesamé, gold, and such like; this is called *Dán-phal*;[3] 16. on the *Shiva-rátri*,[4] or "night of Siva," the 21st of the *Bhágan* (Phágan, or Phálgun) they present to the Brahmans a serpent of silver, with red rice, which they call *Phani*.[5]

The above are the sixteen ceremonies. It is moreover necessary that a Brahman's son should be invested with the Munji at the age of eight, the Chatriyas at eleven, and the Vaisyas at twelve, after which ceremony the boy is to be sent to school.

A Brahman must, whilst performing the offices of

[1] पिण्ड प्रदान *Pin da-pra da'na*, from *pinda*, "a funeral cake; an oblation to deceased ancestors, offered at the several *Sradhas*, by the nearest surviving relation, and *pra'da'n*, "the act of giving."

[2] माघ *Magha*, the name of a Hindu month commencing when the sun enters Capricornus (January–February).

[3] दान फल *Da'na-phal*, from "*Da'na*, "a gift," and *phal*, "fruit."

[4] शिव रात्रि *Shiva-ratri*, from *Shiva*, "Siva, the deity," in his character of destroyer and reproducer; the third person of the Hindu triad, and *ratri*, "night," being the night of the fourteenth day of the moon's wane, in the month *Magha*, or *Magha-phalguna*, a rigorous fast with extraordinary ceremonies in honour of the *Sivalinga*, or *Phallus*.

(*As. Res*, vol. III. p. 274.)

[5] फणी *Phani*, from *Phana*, "the expanded hood or neck of the *Cobra* "*di Capello*—(*Wilson*).

nature, fasten the Munji securely on the right ear, turning his face to the north, but at night to the south. After performing these offices, he is to take his instrument, and going three paces farther he is to apply to his hands water, which is to be in a vessel, and with which earth has been blended, and this is to be continued until there remains no disagreeable odour. He is after this to perform his ablution in a clean place,[1] and seat himself in such a manner that his hands should be under his knees, with his face to the north or east; next, whilst repeating the prescribed forms of prayer, he is to put a little water three times successively into

[1] For a more detailed account, see *Ward on the Hindoos*, vol. II. p. 29, etc.—The abstract given in the Dabistân is inaccurate, agreeing neither with *Manu* nor *Ward:* in *Manu*, it is as follows (l. II. sl. 58): Let a Brahman at all times perform the ablution with the pure part of his hand, denominated from the Veda, or with the part sacred to the Lord of creatures, or with that dedicated to the gods: but never with the part named from the *Pitris*. (sl. 59) The pure part under the root of the thumb is called *Brahma;* that at the root of the little finger, *Ca'ya;* that at the tips of the fingers, *Daiva;* and the part between the thumb and index, *Pitrya*. (sl. 60) Let him sip water thrice; then twice wipe his mouth; and lastly, touch with water the six cavities (or his eyes, ears, and nostrils), his breast, and his head. (61) He who knows the law and seeks purity, will ever perform his ablution with the pure part of his hand, and with water neither hot nor frothy, standing in a lonely place, and turning to the east or north. (62) A Brahman is purified by water that reaches his bosom; a Chatrîya, by water descending to his throat; a Vaisya, by water barely taken into his mouth: a Sutra, by water touched with the extremity of his lips.—D. S.

the palm of the right hand,[1] which he is to swallow without reciting any prayers; he is then to cleanse the mouth with the back of the left hand, and having taken into the palm of his hand other water, and dipped the other fingers into it, he is to apply them to his nose, eyes, and ears; the water must be pure, without foam or bubble. On this occasion the Brahman is to swallow so much water that the moisture may extend to his breast; the Chattri such a quantity as to extend to his throat; the Vaisya sufficient to moisten the inside of his mouth; the cultivator, women, and children who have not assumed the Munji, are to apply a little water to the lips, then immerse the head, and having repeated the proper forms of prayer, to sprinkle the head several times.

[1] This rite is called *Achamana*, performed by taking up water in the palm of the right hand three times, and drinking it as it runs towards he wrist; then, with the right hand, the Brahman is to touch his lips, nose, ears, navel, breast, forehead, and shoulders, repeating an incantation; wash his hands again, and perform *achamana;* repeat an incantation; then sitting to the N. or E., before sunrise, cleanse his teeth with the end of a green stick, about six or seven inches long. If he clean his teeth after sunrise, in the next birth he will be born an insect feeding on ordure. He must now wash from his face the mark on his forehead made the day before Lastly, he puts a dry and new-washed cloth round his loins and sitting down, let him cleanse his poita by rinsing it in the water; then taking up some earth in his hand and diluting it with water, put the middle finger of his right hand in this earth, and make a line betwixt his eyes up to the top of his forehead; then draw his three first fingers across his forehead; make a round dot with his little finger in the centre at the top of his head; another on the upper part of his nose; and another on his throat; etc, etc. (*Ward*, vol. II. p. 31).—D. S.

The Brahman is next to compress the nostrils, so that the passage of inhalation and exhalation should be closed up, and recite the prayers prescribed on the occasion; then he is to stand for some time, turning his face towards the great luminary, and repeat the necessary formulæ. Every morning, on rising up and performing duly the offices of nature, he is to go through the necessary rites which they call *Sandhya*,[1] the observance of which, three times every day, is equally imperative on both Brahman and Chattriya: 1. every morning, or from the dawn of day until the rise of the world-illuminating solar orb; 2. at midday, from the sun's meridian altitude to his declination; 3. at evening, or from one hour before the setting of the world-enlightening sun until the rising of the stars. These rites are to be accompanied by *Ghasal*, or "ablution," except on the

[1] *Sandhya.* The Brahman must offer up many prayers; pour out water to different gods; repeat certain forms of prayer in honor of the sun, which he must worship; and repeat the Gáyatrí; then take up water with his Kosha (small copper cup), and pour it out to his deceased ancestors; after which he must return home and read some part of the Veda—(*Ward*, vol. II. p. 31-32).

The *Ga'yatrí* here means a sacred verse from the Vedas, to be recited only mentally: this is usually personified and considered as a goddess, the metaphorical mother of the three first classes, in their capacity of twice-born; investiture with the sacred and distinguishing string, viz.: being regarded as a new birth. There is but one Gayatri of the Vedas; but, according to the system of the Tantricas, a number of mystical verses are called Gáyatris, each deity having one in particular. From *Gaya*, "who sings; and *Trai*, "to preserve"—D. S.

Sandhya of the latter part of the day, when, if it be impossible, the established prayers only are to be recited. On performing this ablution, the head is to be several times sprinkled with water in such a manner that it may fall in drops on it; after which, having gone through the indispensable forms of prayer, he is to make the *Homa*, that is, he is to light the holy fire on a pure spot, and place on it thin and fine pieces of wood, and having chosen the still more delicate splinters of it, and moistened them with water, he drops pure rice upon them. The fire being thus lighted, he addresses prayers to his spiritual guide or his instructor, father, and elders, and laying his head on the ground, solicits their benedictions; pronouncing during this adoration his own name, so that it may be heard by them, after this manner: "I, who am such a one, in profound "adoration address my prayers to you, and pros- "trate myself in your presence:" the same prostration must also be performed to his mother. He then repairs to his master, before whom he stands in an humble attitude and receives instruction; but after this form, that the instructor should say of himself, "I am now at leisure:" he is not to command him, which would be accounted great rudeness. When the pupil waits on his master, he is to appear before him dressed in costly clothing; but if both master and pupil should be in indigent cir-

cumstances, the latter is to solicit alms, and thus procure subsistence for his master and himself: he is moreover to remain silent at table.

The boy, when invested with the Brahminical thread, is called a *Brahmachari*, until he enters into the marriage state; after which, if through the necessity of his own family he derives his daily support from another quarter, he is not to eat at one place only, but go round to several doors, and receiving something at each, convey the whole to its proper destination; but the person, whose father and mother charge themselves with his annual support, and who can discover no other Brahman beside himself in that district, is allowed to satisfy his appetite at one place. Until the time of his marriage, the Brahmachari eats not honey, never applies collyrium to the eyes, nor oil nor perfumes to the body; and never eats the viands left at table, except his master's; he never utters a rejoinder with harshness or severity; avoids female intercourse; and never looks at the great luminary when rising or setting; he is a stranger to falsehood, and never uses an expression of ill omen; nor holds any one in detestation, or regards him as an object of reproach; above all, he shows exceeding veneration to his preceptor.

The ancients commanded that boys should be engaged in the study of the Veds, or "religious "sciences," from five years of age to twelve. They

have also said: "A Brahman should study the four "Védas;" but as the acquisition of the whole is impossible, their learned men are consequently satisfied with the knowledge of small portions of each. The first is the *Rigvéda*, which treats concerning the knowledge of the Divine essence and attributes; the mode of creation; the path of righteousness; of life and death. The second, or *Yajúsh-véda*, treats of the rules prescribed for religious ceremonies, faith, burnt offerings, and prayers. The third is the *Sámavéda*, which treats of the science of music, the proper mode of reading the Védas, and the portions selected from them; from this source are also derived vocal and instrumental harmony. The fourth is the *Atharva-véda*, which includes the rules of archery, the prayers proper to be recited when encountering the foe and discharging arrows against them. If a person acquainted with this system and form of prayer discharge a single arrow, it becomes a hundred thousand arrows, some of which contain fire, others wind, storm, dust, and rain; others vomit forth golden stones and huge bricks; whilst some assume the forms of tremendous wild beasts and ferocious animals, which strike terror into the boldest hearts. Many are the extraordinary modes and wonderful devices unfolded in this Véda for the total destruction of one's enemies. Such is the Atharva Véda, and such the artifices,

magic practices, incantations, spells, and devices contained in it.[1]

[1] We read in Colebrooke's Treatise on the Védas (*As. Res*, vol. VIII. p. 370) what follows: "It is well known, that the original Véda is "believed by Hindus to have been revealed by Brahma, and to have "been preserved by tradition, until it was arranged in its present order "by a sage, who thence obtained the surname of *Vyá'sa*, or *Véda Vyás'a*, "that is, 'compiler of the Védas.' He distributed the Indian scripture "into four parts, which are severally entitled *Rich*, *Yajush*, *Sá'man*, "and *Át'harvan'a*; and each of which bears the common denomination "of Véda."

After having discussed the question whether the fourth Véda be more modern than the other three, the celebrated Indianist concludes (p. 372): "That the three first-mentioned Védas are the three principal portions "of the Véda; that the *Át'harvan'a* is commonly admitted as a fourth; "and that divers mythological poems, entitled *Itihá'sa* and *Purá'ná's*, "are reckoned a supplement to the scripture, and, as such, constitute a "fifth Véda." He says further (*ibid.*, p. 378): "Each Véda consists of "two parts, denominated the *Mantras* and the *Bráhman'as*, or 'pray-"ers' and 'precepts.' The complete collection of the hymns, prayers, "and invocations belonging to one Véda is entitled its *Sanhita*. Every "other portion of Indian scripture is included under the general head "of divinity (*Bra'hman'a*). This comprises precepts which inculcate "religious duties; maxims, which explain those precepts; and arguments, "which relate to theology.—The theology of the Indian scripture, com-"prehending the argumentative portion entitled *Védanta*, is contained "in tracts denominated *Upanishads*."—A. T.

The Hindus have, besides, *Upavédas*. *Upa* is a preposition importing resemblance in an inferior degree; and *Véda*, from *Vida*, "know-"ledge." The four Upavedas comprise the *Ayu*, on the science of medicine, drawn from the Rig Veda; the *Gandharva*, on music, from the Sama-Véda; the *Dhanu*, on military tactics, from the Yajush; and the *Silpa*, on mechanics, from the Atharvan'a.

Hindu learning has six divisions, called *Angas*, that is, "parts," or "members." The six Angas are: *Sikshya*, on pronunciation; *Kalpa*, on ceremonies; *Vyá'karana*, on grammar: *Chanda*, on prosody and verse; *Jyotisha*, on astronomy; and *Nirukta* an explanation of difficult

The *Brahmachárí* is of two kinds: one as already described, whom the Brahmans call Brahmachari, until the period of his becoming a householder and taking a wife; the second is he who in the course of this life never enters into the married state, pays no attention to worldly cares, and continues the devoted servant of his instructor, on whose death he pays the same attention to his survivors. If the disciple should happen to die in his master's house or that of his successor, it is accounted far more meritorious than in any other place; and if his decease should not occur, he is carefully to worship the fire which is made for the purpose of the Hom, or "burnt-"offering," and diminishing every day the quantity of his food.

Having thus given some statements concerning the Brahmachárí, it now becomes proper to mention the various modes of contracting marriage among the Hindus: thus it is related in the first part of the *Mahábhárat*, that a woman who has lost her husband may lawfully take another; for when Para-su-Ràma had exterminated the Chattris, their wives held intercourse with the Brahmans and bare them

words, etc., in the Véda. These divisions, as dependant upon the Védas, are also called *Védangas*. The Hindus count besides four secondary portions of science, called *Upanga's:* these are: the *Puranas*, or poetical histories; the *Na'ya*, on ethics; the *Mi'ma'nsa*, on divine wisdom and on ceremonies; and the *D'harma s astra*, or the civil and canon laws (*Ward*, vol. IV. p. 55\ —D. S.

children. It is also permitted to a wife deprived of her husband, to attach herself to another; thus *Yojanagandhá*[1] was first the wife of *Paras'ara*, by whom she had a son, the celebrated sage *Vyása*,[2] and she afterwards became the wife of a king named *Santana*.[3] In the same work it is also recorded, that a woman may, by her husband's consent, maintain intercourse with another; thus, on the arrival of Raja Bali, a Brahman named *Tamma*, sent him his wife and obtained a son. In like manner, Raja *Pándu*, who abstained from all intercourse with woman, permitted his wife *Kunti*[4] to keep company

[1] Yojanagundhá (*Wilson's Dict.*) is a name of Satyavati, the mother of the sage and poet Vyása.

[2] The great epic poem, *Maha'bha'rat*, is ascribed to Vyása, on the wars between the Kurns and the Gandus, when more than seven millions of men perished. Of the birth of Vyasa, who divided the Véda into eighteen parts, wrote eighteen *Puranas*, the eighteen *Upapuranas*, the *Kalkipurana*, the *Mahabhagavata*, the *Eka'mrapurana*, the *Vedanta darshana*, and founded the *Vedanta* sect, an account is given, by himself, in the Mahabharat.—(*Ward*, vol. III. p. 12).—D. S.

[3] Santanu, the fourth prince in succession from Sambarana, the son of Riksha, whose reign began at the commencement of the Kali Yug.

(*Ward*, vol. III. p. 21-22).—D. S.

According to Sir W. Jones (*Works*, IV. p. 32) and to *Wilson's Dict.* (*sub voce*), Sántanu was the twenty-first sovereign of the lunar race in the third age; he was the son of *Prati'pa*, and grandson of *Riksha* (see also *Vichnupurana*, *Wilson's transl.*, p. 457.—A. T.

[4] Kunti was mother of the five Pandava princes, by as many gods; the names of the princes were *Yud'hisht'hira*, *Bhi'ma*, *Arju'na*, *Nakul'a*, and *Sahadéva*. Pandu was interdicted by a curse from connubial intercourse, and obtained the above five sons through his two wives Kunti and Madri (*Ward*, vol. III. p. 22).—D. S.

with others, and she, by force of his prayers, mixing with angels, had sons. In like manner it is permitted that the son be separated from the father, but remain with the mother, and that, on the decease of a brother, another brother by a different father but the same mother, may marry the widow of the deceased: thus *Vyása*, the son of *Yojangandha* by *Párasaru*,[1] visited the wives of *Vichitra-Virya*, who was born of the same mother, Yojangandha, by king Santanu, and there was born to him *Dhritaráshtra*, Raja *Pándu*, and *Vidúra*. It is also allowed that several individuals of the same race and religion may among them espouse one wife: thus *Draupadí*, daughter of *Drúpada*, Rája of *Pánchála*,[2] was married to the five Pandava princes; and *Ahalyá*,[3] the daughter of *Gautama*, to seven persons; and the daughter of another holy person, was married to ten husbands. The Yezdanians ascribe the seclusion of women, and their not choosing husbands for themselves, to litigation, corrup-

[1] *Para'saru:* this philosopher is described as a very old man, in the dress of a mendicant. He is charged with an infamous intrigue with the daughter of a fisherman; to conceal his amour with whom, he caused a heavy fog to fall on the place of his retreat. Veda Vyasa, the collector of the Vedas, was the fruit of this interview (*Ward*, vol. IV. p. 40). —D. S.

[2] One of the thirty-eight divisions of Central India (*Ward*, vol. III. p. ix.—D. S.

[3] *Ahalya'* (*Vichnupurana, Wilson's transl.*, p. 454) was the daughter of *Bahwas'wa*, and the wife of Gautama.—A. T.

tion, and the family perplexities. It is recorded also in the Mahábhárat, that in ancient times there was no such practice as the appropriation of husband and wife; every woman being allowed to cohabit with whomsoever she thought proper, until once the wife of a holy personage being in the society of another, Swétakéta, the holy man's son, feeling indignant at such conduct, pronounced this imprecation: "Let the woman who approaches a stranger "be regarded as a spirit of hell!" and at present the brute creation, which possess in common with us, immaterial souls, act according to the ancient law: many, also, of the northern nations follow the same practice. In the same work it is also stated, that the sage Vyása was born of the daughter of a fisherman, whom the sage Paras'ara espoused, from which it follows that the issue of such a low connection is not to be held as a low or degraded character. Thus far has been extracted from the Mahábhárat.

According to the Smarttas, there are two kinds of wives: the first is the legitimate wife, who is degraded by holding intercourse with any man save her husband: the second are those on whom no restraints are imposed; of whom there are numbers at the disposition of their chief men. The princes of ancient times, to all appearance, established this description of females for the purpose of receiving

travellers and pilgrims, an act which they regarded as productive of great blessings.

Moreover, on account of the increase of the male population, they held not as a criminal act the holding an intercourse with these females; but regarded guilt to consist in being intimate with a woman who has a husband: they moreover esteemed it a base act to defraud the licensed class of their hire. Tradition records that, in former times, the *Lulees*, or "dancing women," who inhabited the temple of the Tortoise in the city of Kalinga, at first gave their daughters to a Brahman, in order to conciliate the favor of the Almighty and insure future happiness; but that afterwards they gave them from selfish purposes, and exposed them from mercenary motives; even at present, although they have entirely given up every pious purpose, yet they do not associate with any save those of their own religion. However, Shir Muhammed Khan, who was appointed military governor of that province under the first sovereign, Abdálláh Kuteb Shah, forced them to repair to the houses of the Moslem: notwithstanding which, the Lulees of the temple of Jagganath, to this very day hold no intercourse with the Muhammedans. In Gaya and Soram, when they take a wife, she must be of noble and honorable descent, and of graceful carriage; and must not previously have been affianced to any other person; she is not to be rela-

ted, in the remotest degree, to the stock or family of her husband, she ought to have brothers, and her lineage and family for ten generations are to be publicly known among her contemporaries. Her relations also make strict inquiries into the merits and demerits of the bridegroom, particularly as to the state of his health and stamina. Some writers assert, that a Brahman may occasionally demand in marriage the daughter of a Chattri, merchant, or cultivator, but on this condition, that they do not join their husband in partaking of food or drink.

Among the Hindus there are five modes of contracting marriage;[1] the first, or *Viváha*, after this form: the damsel's father looks out for a son-in-law, to whom he presents money and goods in proportion to his means, and gives him his daughter, which is the most legitimate mode.[2] The second is the

[1] In the *Institutes of Manu* (l. III. sl. 21.) eight forms of marriage are enumerated, viz.: the marriage form of *Brahma*, of the *Dévas* (gods), of the *Rishis* (saints), of the *Prajapatis* (creators), of the *Asu'ras* (demons), of the *Gandharvas* (celestial musicians), of the *Ra'kshasas* (giants), and of the *Pisa'chas* (vampires). The six first in direct order are by some held valid in the case of a priest; the four last in that of a warrior; and the same four, except the *Rakshasa* marriage, in the cases of a merchant and a man of the servile class. Some consider the four first only as approved in the case of a priest; one, that of *Rakshasas*, as peculiar to the soldier; and that of *Asuras* to a mercantile and a servile man; but in this code three of the five last are held legal, and two illegal: the ceremonies of *Pisa'chas* and *Asuras* must never be performed.—A. T.

[2] According to Mr. Wilson, it is when the bridegroom gives to the bride, her father, and paternal relations, as much as he can afford. According

Asurvivahah, when without the consent of the father or mother, by employing force and violence, or the influence of money, the damsel is forcibly taken by the bridegroom from her parents' house to his own, and there married to him. The third is the *Gandharvivâhah*, when the bridegroom takes the damsel away with her consent, but without the approbation of her parents, and espouses her at his own house. The fourth is the *Râkshasa-viváha*, when the parties on both sides are at the head of armies, and the damsel, being taken away by force, becomes the victor's bride.

The fifth is the *Písácha-viváha*, when the lover, without obtaining the sanction of the girl's parents, takes her home by means of talismans, incantations, and such like magical practices, and then marries her. Písách, in Sanscrit, is the name of a demon, which takes whatever person it fixes on, and as the above kind of marriage takes place

to Ward, it is when money is received in exchange for a bride. Where a present is made to the father of the girl, the caste of the boy is not very respectable. In the most respectable marriages, the father not only gives his daughter without reward, but bears the expenses of the wedding, and presents ornaments, goods, cattle, and money to the bridegroom (*Ward*, vol. III. p. 163–168). Ward mentions eight kinds of marriage: 1. *Bra'hma*, when the girl is given to a Brahman without reward; 2. *Dai'va*, when she is presented as a gift at the close of a sacrifice; 3. *Arsha*, when two cows are received by the girl's father; 4. *Pra'ja'patya*, when the girl is given at the request of a Brahman; 5. *Asura*, as above 6. *Gandharva*; 7. *Rakshasha*; 8. *Pis'ha'cha* (*Ward*, *ibidem*).—D. S.

after the same manner, it has been called by this name.

On espousing a damsel, the intelligent Brahman, having taken the bride's hand into his own, must go through the established forms prescribed by his faith, and move seven steps in advance.[1] When he espouses the daughter of a Chattrí, at the time of solemnizing the marriage, an arrow is to be held at one extremity by the bridegroom, and at the other by the bride; on contracting an alliance with a merchant's daughter, the bride and bridegroom are to hold a scourge or some similar object in the same manner; on his marriage with the virgin daughter of a cultivator, the parties mark their union by a token of secret intimacy. When they deliver the bride to her husband, if her father be not alive, or her paternal grandfather, or if her brothers be not forthcoming on the occasion, then the most respectable person of the tribe or family is to perform the necessary ceremonies; and if the relations be not intelligent, then the damsel's mother.

It is to be remarked, that when a girl attains the the proper age for entering into the married state,

[1] See for the marriage customs of the Hindus: "*On the religious ceremonies of the Hindus and of the Brahmans especially*, Essay III. by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.; *As Res.*, vol. VII. p. 288. Calcutta edit.; and also: *Mœurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, par M. l'abbé J. A. Dubois, vol. I. chap. VI. pp. 284-326. Paris. 1825.

if her parents, notwithstanding their ability, do not provide a husband for her, they commit a great sin. If a distinguished suitor should not present himself, they are however to provide a husband of a good family; this they are to perform only once in their lives, as on the husband's death it is unlawful for the widow to become the wife of another person: after her husband's decease, she is obliged to pass the rest of her life in his house. If, previous to advancing the seven steps prescribed at the time of contracting the marriage, there should present himself a more distinguished suitor than the former, it is allowed to take the damsel from the former and give her to the latter, as before advancing the seven paces, the matrimonial contract is not binding. Should a wife prove to be immoral, all intercourse with her must terminate; but putting her to death or turning her out of doors, are also forbidden: she is to be confined to a small and dark chamber, clad in a coarse dress, and to receive food but once a day.

The period of a woman's illness, according to the Brahmans, extends to sixteen days: on the four days following the first day of the symptoms, all intercourse with her is forbidden. Women are strictly enjoined to show the greatest respect to their husbands, parents, brothers, and relations, and to use every possible exertion for the preservation of

their husbands' property. When he goes on a journey, she is not to deck her person, nor appear cheerful and smiling; she is not to go to entertainments, to the houses of her acquaintances or relations, nor invite them to hers.

As long as a girl is unmarried, it is necessary to guard her with the closest attention; but, when married, this would be highly improper, with this restriction however, that it is by no means fitting that a female, from her tenderest years to the period of her maturity, should be allowed unlimited liberty: on the contrary, she is to be ever submissive and obedient to her father, husband, and relations: but if these should not be in existence, the actual rulers are to take care of her state.

When the husband is on a journey, the wife is not to remain alone in the house, but is to repair to the dwelling of her parents, brethren, or relations; and if, on her husband's death, she become not a *Sattee*, that is, burn herself with the deceased, she is then to reside with his relations, devoting herself to rigid abstinence and the worship of the Almighty. They say that when a woman becomes a *Sattee*, the Almighty pardons all the sins committed by the wife and husband, and that they remain a long time in paradise:[1] nay, if the husband were in the

[1] This passage is nearly a literal translation from the Hetopades, p 79: "Three crores and a half are the hairs on a man;

infernal regions, the wife by this means draws him from thence and takes him to paradise; just as the serpent-catcher charms the serpent out of his hole. Moreover the Sattee, in a future birth, returns not to the female sex; but should she reassume the human nature, she appears as a man; but she who becomes not a Sattee, and passes her life in widowhood, is never emancipated from the female state. It is therefore the duty of every woman, excepting one that is pregnant, to enter into the blazing fire along with her deceased husband; a Brahman's wife in particular is to devote herself in the same fire with her husband; but others are allowed to perform the rite in a separate place. It is however criminal to force the woman into the fire, and equally so to prevent her who voluntarily devotes herself. [1]

" So long a time shall she live in paradise who follows her lord.
" As a snake-catcher forcibly draws up a snake from his hole,
" In the same manner she, having taken her husband, is exalted to
" heaven.
" The affectionate wife, who on the funeral pile has embraced her
" inanimate
" Husband, abandons indeed her own body:
" But taking up her husband, who has committed many sins—even a
" hundred times
" A hundred thousand—she shall obtain the mansions of the gods."
—D. S.

[1] It is known that the sacrifice of widows was abolished in the year 1834, in all the Indian provinces under the government and influence of the English authorities, by lord William Bentinck, governor-general of India. A. T.

The enlightened doctors say, that by a woman's becoming a Sattee is meant that, on her husband's decease, she should consume in the fire along with him all her desires, and thus die before the period assigned by nature; as in metaphysical language woman signifies " passion," or in other words, she is to cast all her passions into the fire; but not throw herself into it along with the deceased, which is far from being praiseworthy. A respectable woman must not from vanity expose herself to the gaze of a stranger, but she is to wear a dress which will completely cover her to the sole of the foot.

It is to be noted, that the son of a Brahman by a Chattri female is not of the father's caste, but a superior Chattri. It is moreover laid down as a rule that a Brahman, on becoming a Brahmachári, should regularly worship the fire, which fire he is to discontinue at the time of the marriage contract; but on that occasion he is bound to light another fire and to recite the prescribed prayers, so that it may be as a witness of the compact entered into between husband and wife: also, after the celebration of the marriage, they are to repeat the prayers prescribed at the time of lighting the fire which they are ever after to worship daily.

The Brahman is moreover to offer up *Hóma*, or burnt offerings, at the rising and setting of the great luminary, and to partake of food twice; once during

the day on the expiration of two watches (midday); the second time at night, on the expiration of one watch: he is also to assist with food and clothing, to the utmost of his power, the indigent, and friends who come to his house.

The Chattri is to learn the Védas and Shasters, or the divine revelations and sciences, but he is not to teach them to another; he is likewise to perform Hóma, or "burnt-offerings." His occupation consists in governing and protecting the human race, for which reason all monarchs were anciently of the Chattri class, the more effectually to establish the righteous decrees of Brahma, and the institutions of the Brahmans.

To the Bakkál, or "merchant caste," appertains the profession of buying, selling, and commercial transactions, the protection of animals, and agriculture, which is attended with profit.

The cultivator, who is called *Dalmah*, or *Kumbi*, is enjoined to engage in service, to practise tillage, or any employment within his capacity by which he can gain a maintenance; there are in fact no limits prescribed as to the nature of his occupations.

All four classes are strictly enjoined not to injure any living being whatever, especially not to deprive any one arbitrarily of life; to speak the truth, to act uprightly, and as long as they live not to defraud a fellow-creature of his wealth.

Every Brahman is obliged once a year to celebrate the established rite of *Yajna*, or "sacrifice:" if he be in indigent circumstances, he is to go round to his brethren, and expend whatever he collects in the Yajna, which is thus performed: there are three *Kundams*,[1] or "fire-pits" to be formed, in front of which is fixed a wooden post; then a rope made of Durva grass (in Sanskrit, *Kúsá*) is thrown around the neck of a black he-goat, and fastened to that post; *Hóm* is then offered up during five days; on the first day, the sacrificer and his wife both perform their ablutions, nine Brahmans at the same time going through the rite of washing their heads and persons; of these nine, one is looked upon as Brahma himself, all present obeying his commands, and the remaining eight Brahmans waiting obsequiously on him. In addition to these, sixteen more Brahmans are required, who are to recite by themselves the *Mantra*, or "forms of prayer," at the moment of the *Hóm*, or "burnt-offering." In order to light the

[1] कुण्डं a hole in the ground for receiving and preserving consecrated fire.—(*Wilson.*)

A part of the sacrifice, called *Yajna*, but it is often performed separately. The things offered are clarified butter, sesamum, flowers, rice, boiled in milk and sweetened in honey, Durva grass, vilwa leaves, and the tender branches, half a span long, of the *ashwatta* (ficus religiosa), the *dumvara* (ficus racemosa), the *palasha* (butea frondosea), the *akunda* (asclepias gigantea), the *sharni* (mimosa albida), and the *kladira* (mimosa catechu) (see *Ward*, vol. II. p. 58).—D. S.

fire, they bring small pieces of a wood which in Sanscrit they call *Arana*,[1] in Hindi, *Ak* (asclepias gigantea); and also for the same purpose another kind, in Sanskrit, *Khandíra*,[2] in Telinga, *Chandaru*; for the Homa, a wood in Sanskrit called *Pámárak*, in Telinga, *Utarini*, in Dakhani *Akhárah*, of which they make tooth-picks; also a wood, in Sanskrit *Udámvarah*[3] (ficus racemosa), in Telinga, *Miri*, in Dakhani, *Kular*, in Parsi *Anjir dasti*, or "wild fig;" and another wood, in Sanskrit *samí*,[4] and in Telinga, *Khammi*; also a grass, named in Sanskrit *Dúrvá*,[5] in Telinga, *Kargi*, in Dakhani, *Haryálí*; also another sort, called *Darbas*. altogether nine are required. The eight Brahmans first mentioned having repeated the proper incantation, lay hold of the goat in such a manner that they make it lie down on a bed formed of the leaves and branches of the tree *Khartarhari*, or *Karshartari*, in Sanskrit, *Kalis'akha*,[6] in Telinga, *Balsúkúma*, and in Dakhani *Karankabánta*. In the next place, the sixteen Brahmans, having recited the

[1] अरणि *arani*, the plant of which especial use is made for kindling fire, is the *Premna spinosa* (*Wilson's Dict.*).

[2] Perhaps खादिर *khadira*, (mimosa catechu).

[3] उडम्बर *udamvara*, "glomerous fig-tree" (ficus glomerosa, Rox.).

[4] शमी *sami* (acacia suma, Rox.).

[5] दूर्वा bent grass, commonly dub (Panicum dactylon) (*Wilson's Dict.*).

[6] Probably a tree with black blossoms, perhaps काल स्कन्ध *ka'la-shandha*, a sort of ebony; or the *tama'la*, bearing dark blossoms.

formula, or appropriate Mantra, stop up all the animal's orifices, so that he can neither exhale nor inhale, and keep him in that position until he dies. Then one of the sixteen Brahmans, cutting off the head at one blow, flays the carcase and cuts it up into small pieces, throwing away all the bones to some distance, and then mixes up clarified butter with the flesh. The eight Brahmans next lay it piece by piece on the fire, whilst the other sixteen are employed in throwing on the above mentioned kinds of wood, and pouring clarified butter on them. The eight Brahmans eat of the meat thus roasted; the person who offers the sacrifice also partakes of it; after which he gives among all the officiating Brahmans one hundred and one cows with their calves, along with a *dakshinah*, or "presents of "money." Hóma must also be performed on the second day, and gifts presented to the Brahmans; on the three following days, they recite the appropriate Mantras, and light up the fire in the manner before described, but lay no meat upon it; in short, during the whole five days, they entertain all Brahmans who present themselves, offering up perfumes and giving presents to each of them. On the expiration of the five days, they completely fill and stop up two of the fire-receptacles, leaving the third, which they do not close up until they have removed the fire it contains to their dwelling: as the fire on this

occasion had been made outside the city, they erect there a house which they burn down on the completion of the ceremony. When they have taken the fire to their dwelling, they deposit it in a peculiar receptacle excavated for the purpose; they offer up the *Hóma* daily, never suffering this fire to go out: they also make a covering for it, which they remove at the time of offering up the Hóma.

The manner of offering the *Hóma* is as follows: the sacrificer having performed his ablution and made the *tilek*, or "inaugural mark," on the forehead with ashes from the fire receptacle, then celebrates the Hóma; the rites must be performed by a Brahman, as it is of no avail when performed by any other. If the officiating Brahman be a *Vaishnavah*, "worshipper of Vishnu," he performs the *Yajna*, or "sacrifice," in the same manner, excepting that, instead of a goat, he employs the figure of a goat formed of flour, over which he goes through the established ceremonies. When one goat is sacrificed, it is called *Agnishtóma*, or "sacrifice to Agni;"[1] where two are offered, *Yúnyikam*;[2] the sacrifice of three is called *Wajpéya*;[3] the sacrifice of four is

[1] अग्निष्टोम According to Wilson's Dict., a sacrifice, or rather a series of offerings, to fire, for five days, to be celebrated in the spring, from *Agni*, "the deity presiding over fire," and *Stoma*, "an offering."

[2] Perhaps युग्मकं *yugmakam*, "couple."—A. T.

[3] वाजपेय from *waj*, "the acetous fermentation of meal and water," and *pèya*, to be drunk by the gods).

called *Jyotishtóma*;[1] and the sacrifice of five is named *Panjáham*.[2] When they sacrifice a cow after this manner, it is called the *Gomédha*; the sacrifice of a horse, *Aswamédha*; that of a man, *Narmédha*.

The *Yajna*, or "sacrifice" is to be offered in the months of *Mágha*, "January," *Váisháka*, "April," or *Márga-sirsha*,[3] "August." Every person performs the Yajna once; but he sacrifices a goat every year; or, if in indigent circumstances, the figure of a goat formed of flour; and if he be a follower of Vishnu, the goat is to be a figure formed of the same materials, as among that sect cruelty towards the animal creation is reckoned as impiety. In their Smriti, or "sacred writing," it is thus laid down: "Let that person put animals to death who "has the power of reanimating them, as the victim "thus sacrificed must be restored to life." Moreover, their pious doctors have said that, by the sacrifice of a sheep, is meant the removal of igno-

[1] ज्योष्टोम from *jyotish*, "light," and *sto'ma*, "an offering;" a particular sacrifice, at which sixteen priests are required.

[2] पञ्चहोम From *panja*, "five," and *ho'ma*, "a burnt offering."

[3] The months are so called from certain Nakshatras, or the twenty-seven stellar mansions, two and one quarter of which make up each sign of the zodiac. The sun passes through those signs in twelve months, and the moon through each sign in two days and a quarter. *Ma'ghα* is so called from the tenth Nakshatra Mágha, represented by a house; *Vais'aka*, from Vis'akha, the sixteenth, represented by a festoon; and *Mar-gas'irsha*, from the fifth Mriga-siras, or the antelope's head.—D. S.

rance; by that of a cow, the abandoning low pursuits; by that of the horse, the curbing of the mind; as according to the Hindus, Manah, or "the heart," from which proceed all phantasies and internal sense, is a fiery and unbroken steed; finally, shedding man's blood in sacrifice, implies the eradication of all reprehensible human qualities. It is also to be highly commended in a Brahman not to devote himself to lucrative pursuits, but to repair to the abode of his co-religionists, and being satisfied and grateful for the portion of grain he receives from them, to give up the rest of his time to devotion; nor is he to collect so much food as to have any remaining for the next day. Vessels of gold are esteemed more pure than those of any other metal. Whenever a Brahman sees an idol-temple, a cow, or a holy personage, he is to walk reverentially round each. He is not to perform the offices of nature in running water, nor in a cow-shed, nor in ashes; before a Brahman, or a cow, or in sight of the great luminary; when he retires to any place for this purpose, he is not in that state of nudity to look towards the stars; neither is he to go out naked in rain, nor sleep with his head to the west; he is not to cast saliva, blood, nor semen into water, nor extend his feet towards the fire for the purpose of warming them; he is not to leap on fire, nor drink water with both hands. It is also wrong to awake,

unless in case of necessity, one who is in a profound sleep; nor is it allowed to sit on the same couch with a sick person. It is not right to enter upon any undertaking to which a suspicion of evil consequences is attached. Great care must also be taken to remove to a distance from the smoke of a dead body on the funeral pile. No one is to return to his home, whether in a city or village, except by the public gate. A Brahman must not receive a gift from a mean and sordid monarch, or from an avaricious person of degrading pursuits, as in the future investigation, punishment certainly awaits such conduct: in short, he never accepts any thing from the impure or base. He is not to look at his wife when sneezing, yawning, or gaping; when she is seated in privacy at her ease; or when applying collyrium to her eyes, or anointing her hair. *** He ought not to sleep naked in his bed-room, nor in an empty house without a companion; he ought not to throw water about in play, with the palm of his hand or with his foot, nor to blow out fire with his breath, without using any instrument.

It is to be known, that the astronomers among the Brahmans, in their computation, divide the month into two parts; from the beginning to the fifteenth day they reckon one part, and call the six-

*** Here terminates the translation of the late D. Shee, p. 201, l. 9, of the Calcutta edition.

teenth day *Púrva*, that is, one entire part; and the rest, to the end of the month, is the other part; in like manner, they have in each month twice twelve and six days; which they distinguish by the denomination *dvádási*, "the twelfth," and *chachti*, "the "sixth, day" of the lunar fortnight.

Nobody ought to put his feet upon the shade of a Dív, that is, of the image of a celestial being, of a king, a preceptor, a saint, and a married wife of another. It is not right to look with contempt upon a Brahman. One may beat a delinquent on account of a fault, or a pupil by way of chastisement, but his blows must not hurt the upper parts of the body. No man ought to dispute or wrangle with one higher in rank than himself, nor with a widow, nor with a man without connexion, an old woman, a beggar, nor with children. Let him feign ignorance with respect to a mandate upon a woman, and towards a person who should be aware of the bad conduct of his wife. He is never to take his meal upon the same table-cloth with a man without religion, a butcher, and one who sells his wife. The master of the house ought never, with a loud voice, to invite another to his board, because this looks like ostentation.

Nine stars are to be worshipped for the increase of wealth, the accomplishment of our wishes, and the union with the divinity; namely, Saturn, Jupi-

ter, Mars, the sun, Venus, Mercury, the solstice, and the descending node. Let the pious distribute to the Brahmans and to the wise men what is prescribed of corn, raiment, and jewels that may suit them. The king is to possess dignity, wisdom, and affability towards young and old; he is to be just towards the complainants; at court, condescending to all, mild and liberal, knowing the truth, understanding the wishes of men, respectful to the pious and the saints, and showing deference to the lords of the faith, and the secluded from the world; he is to be humble and command his ambition; and in whatever may occur, pleasure and pain, fortune and misfortune, let his conduct never be mutable and inconsistent.

Whoever runs away in battle, renders himself highly guilty, and all the merit which he might have acquired before, falls to the share of another who stood firm in the field of battle.[1] A king who, with the laudable qualities before described, exerts himself in the maintenance of his laws, the distribution of justice, and the welfare of the cultivators, shares

[1] According to the *Institutes of Manu* (chap. VII. sl. 94-95): "The "soldier who, fearing and turning his back, happens to be slain by his "foes in an engagement, shall take upon himself all the sin of his com- "mander, whatever it be: and the commander shall take to himself the "fruit of all the good conduct which the soldier who turns his back and "is killed, had previously stored up for a future life."

(*Transl. of Sir W. Jones.*)

the recompense of all the good actions which the inhabitants of the country have performed.[1] The exercise of justice is imposed as a necessity upon a king; in order that, if a son, brother, uncle, brother-in-law, preceptor, or any other friend, commit a crime, he may immediately, according to the established code of laws, order their chastisement, terrify, reprimand, or subject them to retaliation.

In the Hindu Institutes which are called *Smriti*, it is said to be established that, after the worship of the Supreme God, they ought to venerate the subordinate divinities, and perform the prescribed rites. To eat flesh, and to put to death some animals, is therein not prohibited, excepting the cow; he who kills, or even hurts, this animal, shall never enjoy the sight of heaven; and they say that he only who can restore to life, may put to death, an animal; this is necessary: who destroys a living being must vivify it again; if he be not able to do this, he ought to forbear from that act, because he shall not escape

[1] *Manu* (*ibid.*, ch. VIII. sl. 304-305) determines the recompense or punishment of good or bad kings as follows: "A sixth part of the reward "for virtuous deeds, performed by the whole people, belongs to the king "who protects them; but, if he protect them not, a sixth part of their "iniquity lights on him." The legislator redoubles the amount of punishment to a bad king in a subsequent *sloka* (308): "That king who "gives no protection, yet takes a sixth part of the grain as his revenue, "wise men have considered as a prince who draws to him the foulness "of his people."

punishment for it. According to their learned interpreters, the killing of certain animals which is permitted in their sacred books, signifies the eradicating and destroying of such blameable qualities as are proper to these animals.

In ancient times, it was the custom among the Brahmans and the wise among them, when they had become householders and begotten a son, to withdraw from society, and when they had established their sons, to separate from them, and having retired into a desert, to devote themselves to the worship of God; and when the sons had children in their house, their father and mother did not visit each other in the desert, but lived separate from each other, at the distance of several farsangs.

The religious austerity of this people is very great; thus they practise perpetual standing upon their legs, hanging themselves up, abstaining from conversation, keeping silence, cutting themselves asunder, leaping down from a rock, and such like. Women used to burn themselves alive with their dead husbands: this is according to the *Smriti*,[1] which is ascribed to Brahma, and believed to be eternal truth.

Of this people, the author of this book saw in Lahor, the capital of the sultan, a Brahman, called

[1] It is to be regretted that the author has not indicated the precise place of the Smriti, which enjoins the sacrifice of the widows.

Sri Manu Rama, who would not accept any nourishment from the Musulmans, nor keep society with strangers. It was said, that an Umra of the Mahommedans had offered him three lacs of rupees, which he refused to take. Pursuant to his religion, he abstained from animal food. Kesayi Tívárí is one of the Brahmans of Benáres, and well conversant with the science of his class. Having left his house, he settled on the bank of the river Ravi, which passes near the garden Kamran, at Lahór: given up to devotion, he seeks no protection against rain and sun; he lives upon a little milk; and whatever he has collcted during several months, he spends in the entertainment of the pious Brahmans whom he invites.

SECTION THE FOURTH, OF THE FOLLOWERS OF THE VEDANTA (THE VEDANTIANS).—(This sect belongs to the most learned and wise of this people.) We shall give the substance of their creed. They say: The explanation regarding the only really existing Being (God) resembles a science from which a faint likeness of his grandeur may be perceived; this being and his qualities are pure of all imperfections and contradictions; he oversees all beings; he discovers all that is hidden; his existence comprehends all things; decay and deficiency have no access to the boundless

area of his existence; he is the lord of life, the greatest of spirits endowed with pure qualities, and this holy Being, this sublime object, they call *Brahma uttama*,[1] "the most excellent Brahma," that is, the supreme soul and the most exalted spirit; and the evidence of this meaning, that is, of his existence, is the created world; because a creation without a creator will not come forth from the veil of non-entity into the field of evidence, and the maker of this work is he, the Lord. This explanation is to be supported in the field of certainty by the wise arguments of sagacious people, and by the testimonies of the text of the Véda, that is, of the heavenly book. The truly existing Being (God) has exhibited this world and the heavens in the field of existence, but he has nothing like an odor of being, nor has he taken a color of reality; and this manifestation they call *Máyá*, that is, "the magic of God;" because the universe is "his playful deceit," and he is the bestower of the imitative existence, himself the unity of reality. With his pure substance, like an imitative actor, he passes every moment into another form, and having again left this, appears in another dress. It is he alone who, coming forth in the

[1] ब्रह्मन् उत्तमं The supreme Brahme in the most extensive acceptation, is with the Hindus a neuter noun (Brahme or Brahma); and the same term (Nom. Brahmá), is one of the three gods who constitute one person.

[2] माया.

forms of Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahadeva, exhibits the true unity in a trinity of persons, and who, manifesting his being and unity in three persons, separate from each other, formed this universe. The connexion of the spirits with the holy Being (God), is like the connexion of the billows with the ocean, or that of sparks with fire; on that account, they call the soul and the spirits *jívátmá.*[1] The soul is uncompounded and distinct from the body and from the material senses; but by the power of selfishness it fell into a captivity from which the soul strivesto be liberated.[2] The soul has three conditions or states: the first is the state of being awake, which they call *jágaravast'ha,*[3] and in this state the soul enjoys quietly the pleasures of nature and bodily delights, such as eating and drinking, and the like; and it suffers from the privation of these just-mentioned enjoyments; that is, it suffers from hunger and thirst, and similar pains; the second state is that of sleep, called *svapna avast'ha,*[4] and in this state the soul is happy in the possession of what it wishes and desires, such as collecting in dreams gold and

[1] जीवात्मा The vital principle or spirit.

[2] The text says: "on that account to be liberated from it, they use the word نفس *nafs.* probably نا فساد *na fesad,* "no corruption:" this of course applies to the Persian, but not to the Sanskrit term.

[3] जागृतावस्था.

[4] स्वप्नावास्था state of dreaming. applied especially to life, or ignorance of worldly illusion.

silver, and similar things; it is distressed by the want of them; the third state is known by the name of *Su svapna avast'ha*,[1] that is, "the state of good "sleep," and in this state there is neither gladness nor sadness from possession or privation of what is desired, but freedom from pleasure and pain. It is to be known that they hold sleep to bestow a prophetic sight of events, and the vision is called *rúyá* in Arabic: in this third state however, which they call sleep by excellence, no events are seen, but it is being plunged in a profound sleep, and this people do not take it simply for sleep, but they distinguish it as a sort of lethargy, which they call *su svapna*. They believe the souls to be imprisoned in these three states, and wandering about in a circle. The soul in these conditions, although united with a body, yet, by a number of meritorious deeds, and a virtuous conduct, attains to the station of knowing

[1] सुस्वप्नावस्था The fantastical conceptions of the Hindus about the states or conditions of the embodied soul are of course not always expressed in the same manner. "They are chiefly three: waking, dream-"ing, and profound sleep; to which may be added for a fourth, that of "death; and for a fifth, that of trance, swoon, or stupor, which is inter-"mediate between profound sleep and death (as it were half-dead), as "dreaming is between waking and profound sleep. In that middle "state of dreaming, there is a fanciful course of events, an illusory crea-"tion, which however testifies the existence of a conscious soul. In "profound sleep, the soul has retired to the supreme one by the route "of the arteries of the pericardium" (*Colebrooke on the Philosophy of the Hindus, Transact. of the R. A. S. of Great Brit. and Irel.*, vol. II. part I. p. 23).

itself and God: it then breaks the net of illusion,[1] and it is the characteristic of saints whom they call *Jnáni*;[2] that, whatever they see in the state of being awake, they reckon to be a vain illusion, as if presenting itself to men in a dream. The saint thinks even a man awake to be deceived by a dream; like one who, from inadvertency, takes a rope for a snake; but it is a rope, not a snake: he knows the world to be a delusion, which, from want of knowledge, is thought to be the universe, although, in truth, it has no reality. This state is called by them *Tarbá avastha*.[3]

When the saint becomes free from the ties and impediments of the world, and from the chains of its accidents, then he enters into the region of freedom, which they call *mukt*.[4] This mukt, according to them, is divided into five parts: the first is, when the sanctified man, having attained the dignity of freedom, in the city of the subordinate divinities

[1] The author uses here and elsewhere the Arabic word غفلت *ghafalat*, which, besides the significations enumerated in the dictionary, of "neglect, indolence, imprudence, forgetfulness, inadvertency," etc., seems to have also that of ignorance, illusion; all these are comprehended in the Sanskrit word *maya*, to render which was, I can scarce doubt, the intention of the author.

[2] ज्ञानी *jnani*.

[3] तत्रोवस्था "the moving state," from *tarba*, "to move." This denomination does not commonly occur in the writings of the Vedantists about this subject.

[4] मुक्ति "final beatitude."

(angels), becomes one of them; as in this city are the residences of the deities, such as the city of Brahma, of Vishnu, of Mahadéva, and this part is called "the mukt of the pious." The second part is, when the devotee, a neighbour and companion of the gods, is surrounded by an abundance of favor, and the society of the celestial beings; and this division of the mukt they call *Svámi prémá.*[1] The third part is, when the pious assumes the form of the inferior divinities without union with their persons, that is, whichever of the gods he chooses, it is his shape which he appropriates to himself, and this part they name *Sára préma.*[2] The fourth part of the mukt is, when the pious becomes united with one of the gods, like water with water, that is, when he coalesces with whichever of the gods he chooses, and this is entitled *svayukti.*[3] The fifth part is, when the soul of the pious, called *jívátma,* becomes one with the great spirit whom they call *paramátmá,*[4] and recognise as the only real being, in such a manner that there remains no room for a second to rise between, and this they distinguish by the name of *Jnánam uttamam.*[5]

[1] स्वामिप्रेमा.

[2] सारप्रेमा.

[3] स्वायुक्ति.

[4] परमात्मा.

[5] ज्ञानम उत्तमं

This is the substance of the creed of the Védantian: whoever possesses this science is called *Ináni* by the Hindus, and all the principal men among them are conversant with the doctrine of this sect. The sublime discourses and wise histories delivered by Vasishta for the instruction of Rama chandra, are entitled *Vasishta yog;* and the speeches which fell from the tongue of Krishna, when he was bestowing advice upon Arjuna, who was one of the Pandus, go under the name of *kathá.* Sankara Acharya, who ranks highest among the later learned men of India, has written much about this doctrine. The dogmas of this class are as follow: the world and its inhabitants are appearances without reality, and God is but one necessary and self-existing being, whom they call *Parama atma;* they say, this appearance and diversity of form, this order and aspect of heavens, are like the vapor resembling the sea upon the surface of sandy plains, and like the vision of a dream; good and bad, pleasure and pain, adoration and worship of God, are but objects of imagination, and these various images are illusions;—the deepest pits of hell, the vaults of heaven, the return to earth after death, transmigration, and the retribution of actions, all that is but imagination, and variety of imagination.

Query - Should one say, a principle of life acts in us; there is no doubt of it; consequently the one

is learned, the other ignorant; the one is happy, the other distressed. How can that be mere imagination, and appearance?

The answer they give to it is – If not in a dream, thou wouldst not see thyself a king issuing mandates, a servant, submissive, imprisoned, free, a slave, a master, sick, healthy, distressed, merry, melancholy, and so on. How often in a dream didst thou not feel pleasure and happiness, or wast overwhelmed by fear, and terror, and anguish? there is no doubt but all this is mere illusion and empty appearance, although the dreamer holds it all to be real truth.

Rayi-Rup, who is reckoned among the learned Rajahs, asked the author of this book: "After having "dreamt to have received any wound whatsoever "upon my body, if, as soon as I rise from sleep, I "do not find the least mark of it, I know that it "was an illusion; but if in a dream I converse with "a woman, at my waking, I may perhaps not be "able to deny the visible effect of it: why should "this happen in the second case?"

To this question the following answer was given: "What thou thinkest the state of being awake, this, "in the opinion of the enlightened, is also dreaming; and as it often happens that, thinking in a "dream to be awake, I perceive whatever appears "as if I were really awake, whilst I see it in a dream:

" in like manner, the usual state of being awake is
" held by the wise to be nothing else but a dream.
" Hast thou not heard what Kámyáb Samrádí has
" said in the Samrád námeh? A man had seven noble
" sons, each of whom felt the ambition to command
" in the six parts of the world. With such a desire,
" they addressed their devotion to God. One day
" they laid their head upon the pillow of repose,
" and each had a bright dream. It appeared to
" each, that he had left his body, and was born
" again in a king's house; after the death of the
" father, each placed the crown upon his head, and
" bore dominion from east to west; in the seven
" regions there was no king equal to him, and the
" reign of each lasted one hundred thousand years;
" at the time of his passing to the other world, he
" delivered the empire to his son, and, leaving the
" body, took his flight to heaven. When they
" awoke, the dinner which they had been preparing
" was not yet ready. Afterwards, each of them
" related what happened to him; each of them pre-
" tended to have possessed the seven regions during
" one hundred thousand years, and each named
" such and such a town as the capital of his em-
" pire. Although awake, they resolved then to go
" each to his kingdom, and to see that capital, whe-
" ther true or not. They went first to the town
" which was the residence of the eldest brother;

" there they found his son king, and the father
" knew his palace; in this manner they visited the
" kingdoms of the other brothers, and saw their
" sons. Afterwards, the seven returned to their
" native-place, and said to each other: ' Each of
" ' us was in his dream king of the seven regions,
" ' and had no other above himself; being awakened,
" ' we heard the same from the men of those towns
" ' which we have visited for ascertaining that we
" ' had possessed such rank and power in the
" ' world.' Thus it is certain that we are even now
" in a dream, and that the world is nothing else
" but an illusive vision."

This sect interpret the whole religion of the Hindus according to their own belief, and they state that, pursuant to the Védas, to confound during the worship all the subordinate divinities with the one whose existence is necessary, means nothing else but that, in truth, they all emanate from this one; further that it is but he who manifests himself in the form of any deity, and that no *Serosh* has an existence of his own, but that in Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahadéva, who appeared above, are evidenced the three attributes of God, namely, in Brahma, the creator; in Vishnu, the preserver; and in Mahadéo, the destroyer. Moreover they say, that these three attributes are the mind or intellect, which they call *manas*, and it is the action of the interior sense which

they distinguish particularly by the name of *manas*.[1] Besides they entertain this belief about the interior sense, that, if the mind wishes, it forms the image of a town; it becomes then *Brahma*, who has as much as created it; as long as the mind wishes, it preserves its work, on which account it becomes *Vishnu*, who is its guardian; further, if it wishes, it throws it off, in which sense the mind becomes *Mahadeo*. Their belief is also, that religious austerity consists in the conviction of the pious, that the world is an appearance without reality, and that, what exists, is in truth God; and that, except him, every thing is but an illusion which comes from him, but in truth has no reality. In their opinion, whoever is desirous of this faith, and does not possess the required knowledge, may by self-application, or by the lessons of a master, or by the instruction of a book, become a proficient in it. The conviction that the world does not exist, may also be acquired by pious exercise; and the perfect therein know, that by means of religious austerity one may acquire what he wishes to learn, and as long as he tends towards it, he has not yet known himself, as he is himself a choice part of the divine being. The pious man, who by dint of austerity renders himself perfect, they call a *Yogi*,[2] that is, one who by self-mortification attains

[1] मनः.

[2] योगी a devotee, an ascetic in general.

his aim. The pious, who by mental application, by the instruction of a master, by the study of books, or by any effort not appertaining to religious exercises, raises himself to any perfection, him they name *Rája-yogi*, that is, one who attains sovereignty.

Among the Hindus are recommended as pious exercises, *Mantra*,[1] *Homa*,[2] and *Dandavat*.[3] *Mantra* signifies prayer; *Homa* is throwing clarified butter and like things into the fire, and reciting prayers, in order to render propitious a certain divinity; *Dandavat* is, when one prostrates himself like a stick before the object of adoration, and touches the ground with the forehead. A person asked Bhartari,[4] who was one of those adepts whom they call *Jnánis*: "Dost thou recite mantras?" He replied: "I do." That person asked again: "What man-"tra?" He answered: "My breath, going out and "in, is my mantra?" That man continued to ask: "Dost thou perform Hóm?" The answer was: "I do." To the question, "And how?" the reply "followed: "By what I eat." That person further inquired: "Dost thou practise the Dandavat?" After affirmation, being asked "At what time?" he

[1] मन्त्रः

[2] होमः

[3] दण्डवत्

[4] Perhaps *Bhartrihari*

50443

said, " When I sleep, stretched out to rest." And this speech reminds me of this sentence:

" *The sleep of the wise is preferable to the adoration* " *of the ignorant.*"

The Hindus call *Déva árcháká*[1] the worshipper of an idol, that is, one who is devoted to a divinity: which this people interpret to be performing whatever rite a man himself chooses; because the deity is the intellectual soul; to render it obsequious, is to perform the act which it commands, that is, whenever it wills, to see with the eyes, to hear with the ears, to smell with the nose, and so on, in order to please one's self. According to their account of the revealed unity of God, all is *HE*. To say so is liable to censure; but it is permitted to assert: " all is *I*." Should one not attain to this height of philosophy, he may choose the former thesis. The author of the *Gulchén raz*, " the rose-garden of mys- " tery," says:

" Egotism belongs to God alone,
" For he is the mystery; think him also the hidden source of illusion."

This people are masters of themselves in their speeches and actions; they know their origin and their end; and, occupied with themselves, they are imprisoned in the gaol of the world. Sankara Atcharya, who is distinguished among the Brahmans

[1] देवार्चक.

and the Sanyasis, professed this doctrine, and to whatever side he turned his face, contentment followed him. One day the adversaries and deniers of this creed resolved to drive an elephant against him; if he do not fly but remain firm, he is a saint; if otherwise, a bad man. When they had impelled the animal against him, Sankara fled; then they said to him: "Why didst thou fly before an illusion?" He replied: "There is no elephant, nor I; and there "was no flight: you saw it in a dream." All the great men among the Hindus are of this creed, and they agree that, in truth, there is no faith but this, without regard to Avátars and Rakshasas: all the enlightened Pandits have ranged themselves upon this side.

A *Jnanîndra* is called one of the Brahmans of Kachmir;[1] this class is, in the language of Kachmir, entitled *Guruvagurinah*, and said to be the fathers of the Jnanían. One whose name was Chívarína, knew well how to keep in his breath; one day he informed the inhabitants of Náu chaher, which is upon the road of Kashmír, that on the morrow he intended to leave his human frame. The next day, the people assembled; Shívarina conversed with them until he arrived at the place where wood had been piled up,

[1] *Kachmir*, a province of North Hindostan, situated principally between the 34th and 35th degree of north latitude.—(*Hamilton's E. India Gazeteer.*)

on the top of which he sat down with his legs crossed under him (which in the Persian language is called *bahín neshisten*, and the description of which I gave in the chapter about the imprisonment of breath practised by the Yezdaníán); he left then the human body, and when the people saw that the bird of life had taken his flight from the cage of the body, they set the wood on fire.

Another Jnani practised the subduing of the breath in his youth, and, mastering his soul by means of religious austerity, he attained to that point that, although possessed of little natural capacity, he undertook to read all the books of the Hindus, and understood all their sciences better than the other Pandits, as they all agreed. He now holds the first rank among the learned of his town, and acquired such an independent manner of thinking, that he feels neither pain from the loss, nor pleasure from the increase, of wealth, and holds alike friend, enemy, stranger, and relation; he is not depressed by the insult, nor elated by the praise of whomsoever; wherever he hears the name of a Durvísh, he calls on him, and, if he conceives a good opinion of him, he then frequents him and cultivates his friendship, and never lets him be afflicted and sorrowful; he converses about God's unity, and cares about nothing else nor busies himself about any other concern, and he visits no other persons but Durvishes. Sodar-

shan is the name of his sister's son, who is also connected with him as his pupil; he left wife, son, and the house of this friend, and lives on the little which his disciples bring to him. When the Jnaní wishes to go out, the disciple puts his coat on him: because, inattentive to every thing exterior and to what may be grateful about him, he is never occupied with any thing else but with books.

It is known that the Hindus, that is, the legalists attached to the Smriti (holy scripture), light up a fire, and with it sacrifice a sheep, not without reciting spells and prayers; which they call performing *Hóm*. The Jnánindra says: "Our fire is piety, and "in it I burn the wood of duality; instead of a "sheep, I sacrifice egotism: this is my *Hóm*." Thus he interprets the whole religion of the Hindus, and a great number of men became his disciples. He has a nephew, called *Gangu*, ten years old, and younger than Sádarshan. One day, Gangu was crying from anger; the author of this book said to him: "Yesterday thou saidst: 'The world "'and what it contains are but illusion;' now, why "'dost thou cry?" He replied: "If the world "is nothing, then my crying has no reality; I am "not in contradiction with myself." So saying, he continued to cry.

"*The society of good men renders good.*"

Jaganath, eight years old, is the son of a Jnánín-

dra; he brought a puppy into a house where an idol was worshipped, put him there in the idol's place, and drew the mark of cast on his head. The boy was asked: "What art thou doing?" He answered: "The stone has no life; why should you not rather "worship the puppy than this idol? Besides, each "person worships what he finds agreeable. Be- "cause this worship is a play, I play with this dog." And none of the people of the house raised a hand on account of the boy's liberty, but uttered blessings upon him.

In the year 1049 of the Hejira (1639 A. D.) the author of these pages visited in Kachmir a Jnánindrâ, and was delighted with his society. He called him his *atma*, that is, his "intellectual soul." The Jnánindra was asked: "Who is thy disciple?" He answered: "It is he who, having arrived to the "self-existent God, knows and sees himself to be "nothing else but God."

At the time when the writer of this book was walking with a Hindu pious man on the border of the lake of Kashmir, a Sanyási who had pretensions to independence, joined us. There, a meal was brought to us, and the Sanyási eat with that pious man. After this, he began to boast: "Hitherto I "have not eat any flesh: it is but now that I have "tasted some." The Jnání offered a cup of wine to him, who drank it for the sake of discarding care.

He then reassumed the theme of self-praise. The pious philosopher had some bread of the bazar, which according to the Hindu faith is still more prohibited than wine, brought upon the table-cloth. The Sanyási broke a bit of the bread, eat it, and again praised himself without measure: "Now," said he, "am I free of all bonds." The wise smiled, and said: "Nothing remains but to eat cow-flesh." The Sanyási, as soon as he heard this, left the company.

Of the distinguished disciples of the Jnánindrás, whom the author of this work saw, are: *Shankar bhat*, *Kanésh bhat*, *Sudarshan Kal*, *Adab bhat*, *Máhatápindra*, and *Avat*, known under the name of *Kopál Kúl*. A goldsmith asked Shankar bhat, one of the disciples just mentioned: "Why do the Jnánindras, "with all their pretensions to independence, still "worship idols?" Shankar said: "Why dost thou "work in gold?" The goldsmith replied: "This "is my profession for gaining my livelihood." The answer to this was: "And worship too is a trade "and a means to procure food."

Mulla Shídáyi, a Hindu, who has a name amongst the poets, and possessed a very impressive eloquence, went one day with the author of this book to the house of a Jnánindra, and conversed with him; he saw his disciples, and having observed the manners of the people of the house, he was struck with

astonishment, and said: "My whole life passed in "devotedness to pious persons; but my eyes never "beheld such independence, and my ears never "heard any thing comparable to the speeches of "those emancipated men."

Hara Ráma púrí was a Sanyási, and one of the Jnánís possessing the perfection of independence. When he came to Kashmír, being vexed by the length of his hair, which was like ropes, he cut it off, on the bank of a river near a house called Bhat jatáyi. Sri Kant Bhat, a Pandit and Hindu judge, saw it and said: "Whenever thou cuttest off thy "hair, thou shouldst do it in a *tirth*, that is, in 'a "'house of worship.'" Hara answered: "There "is a place in the most holy of mansions, where the "heart gets delighted, and on the spot where the "dead are burnt, all obscure points are termi- "nated." In the year 1051 of the Hejira (1641 A. D.) he went to Kichtovar,[1] and settled in a plain called *chawgan*, where they played at ball, practised equitation, and burnt the dead. Maha Singh, the son of Baháder Singh, Rája of Kishtovár, became his disciple, and by devotion he rendered himself free of the bonds of exterior things; now he likes the society

[1] *Kishtovar*, a town in the province of Lahore, named also *Triloknath*, situated close to the southern range of the Kashmere hills, and 94 miles E. S. E. from the city of Kashmere. Lat. 34° 7 N., long 75° 20' E.—(*Hamilton's E. India Gazetteer*).

of the pious; he is young and conversant with poetry. In the year 1052 of the Hejira (1642 A.D.) a war broke out in Kishtovar, between the Rája and the rebels of this country. When they made resound the drum of battle, a general carnage began on both sides of the combatants; Hara Rámapúrí, having got upon the top of an elevated ground, was occupied with the sight of it, and at the uproar of the warriors and the sound of pipes, and clarions, and kettle-drums, he began to dance, and in the midst of his transport his foot stumbled; he fell headlong from the mountain, and in rolling down received from a great stone a head-wound, of which he died. Mirza Rafíah says:

"When the darkness of my heart became enlightened by the knowledge
"of wisdom,
"Whatever speeches were proffered as her arguments,
"They bore upon some errors of my desires;
"Thus the whole road was rendered winding from my stumblings."

Sathrah and Jadú were two fakírs. Sathrah drew in Nagarikot[1] the mark of the cast on his forehead, and threw the zunar on his neck; he ate however roasted cow-flesh, with bread of the bazar, and indulged himself in pleasure-walks. Some Hindus arrested him by force, and brought him before the

[1] *Nagarikot*, or Cote Caungra (Cata-Khankhara), a strong fortress in the province of Lahore, 122 miles E. N. E. from the city of Lahore. Lat. 32° 20′ N., long. 73° 42′ E.

judge. The judge said to him: "If thou art a "Hindu, it becomes thee not to eat cow-flesh and "bread of the bazar; and, if thou art a Muselman, "wherefore the mark of the cast and the zunar?" The answer was: "The mark of the cast is of safran "and sandal-wood; the zunar is a woven thread; "the cow-flesh comes from grass and barley; bread "from corn, and the oven from earth and water: "if thou considerest things according to truth, thou "wilt find that all is composed of four elements, "which are neither Muselmans nor Hindus; as to "the rest, let thy commands be conformable to "law." The judge set him at liberty. Jadú was one of his disciples, and went to Balkh, the dome of Islam. He appeared in the mosque with the mark of the Hindu cast, and with the zúnar, and, arrested, was brought before the judge, who saluted him as a Muselman. Jadú replied: "If thou givest "me a wife and settlest me in a house, I will be a "Muselman." The judge gave him a beautiful widow for a wife, and Jadú, having become a Muselman, went into her house. After the lapse of a few days, he said to the woman: "Give me the "daughter whom thou hast had with thy late hus- "band, in order that I may sell her, and spend the "price that I receive for her for my subsistence. "When we shall have another child, I will dispose "of it in the same manner, by selling; for this is

" my profession, and except this I know no trade." The woman dismissed him. Jadú, being at liberty, went to Kabul;[1] he put a feather on his head, as messengers used to do, fastened a bell round his waist, and, with a loose belt on his shoulder and a striped coat, he appeared in the bazar. The messengers arrested him, and said: " Why hast thou taken our " dress?" Jadú answered: " The crown and feather " are upon the head of the nightingale and of other " birds, and the bell hangs upon the neck of the " sheep and of the cow; reckon me too one of them." The messengers began to handle him roughly; Jadú asked: " What is your desire?" They said: " Thou " art now to exercise with us the nimble pace of " a courier." Jadú did not refuse: he ran with them, and gained so much over them that at the morning dawn not one of the couriers remained near him. During seven days and nights he neither ate nor drank any thing, practising running. Jadú acquired the habit of religious austerity; in the year 1052 of the Hejira (1642 A. D.), having convoked his friends in Jelálabad,[2] between Peshaver[3]

[1] *Kabul*, the capital of the province of Kabul, in Afghanistan. Lat. 34° 31′ N., long. 68° 34′ E.—(*Hamilton's E. India Gazetteer*).

[2] *Jelalabad*, a town in the province of Kabul, 73 miles E. S. E. from the city of Kabul. Lat. 34° 6′ N. N., long. 69° 46′ E.—(*Hamilton's E. India Gazetteer*).

[3] *Peshaver*, " the advanced post," an Afghan town in the province of Kabul. Lat. 33° 22′ N., long. 76° 37′ E.—(*Ibid.*)

and Kabul, he took leave from them and resigned his life.

Pertábmal Chadah (Chadah is a tribe of Kshatriyas) is a Jnání, that is a pious man; his native country is Síál kut; he attained to perfection in the exercise of virtue; he is not confined to any faith or religion; but knows that every religion is a road leading towards God; he sees in every face a friend revealed. One day he joined, on account of an affair, Davárah, a man who was one of the chiefs appointed by the government of Hargovínd, a successor of Nanak;[1] he became his disciple, and declared himself as his adherent. Davárah washed his feet, and the water thereof was drank by all the present followers of the faith, which they did to every body whom they had gained over to their religion. At last, a dispute arose between Pertábmal and Davárah; the latter said to the other: "But yesterday I washed thy feet (that is, made thee my disciple, and to-day thou makest war upon me?" Pertábmal answered: "Oh weak-minded man! the Jats always wash my feet as thou hast done: my own hand never touches my feet." [The Jats are a low class of the Hindus.]

It is an established custom among the followers of Nának to present, when they pursue a desire,

[1] See, about Nanak, the subsequent pages.

a few direms to the chief of their master, or to their master, and solicit his favor. Pertábmal offered some dírems to Kábelí, who was a religious chief appointed by Harigovind, and then in Kabul; he said with his hands joined: " I wish to convoke " for prayer, according to their custom, all the fol- " lowers of Nának; let that be granted." Kabeli, before giving his agreement, asked: " Thou wishest perhaps to see Haragovind?" Pertábmal said: " I " wish something more precious." Kabeli asked: " What is this?" The answer was: " I wish the " arrival of all the buffoons, dancers, and musi- " cians from Péshawar to Kabul, that we may see " their actions, arts, and tricks."

In the house of Pertábmal was an idol which the Hindus worship. A mouse having made a hole in his furniture, he put the whole idol, instead of a lump of earth, into the mouse-hole, in order to shut the passage. The Hindus said: " What art thou " about?" He answered: " The deity who cannot " obstruct the road of a mouse, and settle any thing " with a mouse, how will he protect me, and pre- " serve me from the tyranny of the Muselmans?" In like manner Pertábmal had in his house a Siva-lingam, which is a post of stone which the Hindus venerate: having carried this lingam out of his house, like a post, he tied a dog to it.

A Muselman said to him: " Two persons only of

" all unbelievers, namely, Nushirvan and Hatam, " will go to heaven." Pertábmal replied : " Ac- " cording to your faith, two persons only of the " unbelievers will go to heaven; but our belief is " that not one of the Muselmans will go to " heaven."

Azadah (this was his adopted title) is a Brahman. One day he ate at table with some Muselmans and drank wine. They said to him : " Thou art a Hin- " du, and thou takest thy meal in common with " Muselmans? Your people never eat but with " persons of their religion." Azádah replied : " I " did not suppose that you were Muselmans; here- " after I will at eating and drinking keep myself " separate from you." Another day he found him- self again drinking wine in company with them, and did not turn his head from the meal; during the repast they said to Azádah : " Yesterday we " made ourselves known to thee as Muselmans." He answered : " I knew that you were joking with " me. God forbid that you should be Muselmans."

Binaváli is the son of Hírámán, a Káyastha.[1] The Káyasthas are a tribe of the fourth cast which Brahma has created; among the illustrious poets his name was Walí;[2] from his childhood he liked very much the

[1] कायस्थ, this is commonly the writer caste, proceeding from a Kshat- triya father and a Súdra mother.—(*Wilson*).

[2] Shah Wáli Ullah, or Shems Wáli Ullah is the author of Hindustani

society of durvishes; and in his tender age he was with the religious chief, named Ularváh, a great durvish, whose continual exclamation was: "God, thou "art present, thou art one, God, I attest this." In the year of the Hejirah 1045 (A.D.1634) he associated with the durvishes of India, and enjoyed the fruit of it; he came to Kashmir in the service of Mulla Shah Budakhshí, and acquired the desired knowledge. The Sufí is by no necessity bound to a creed; no faith nor religion fetters his choice; he befriends the idol and the temple of the idol, and is no stranger to the mosque; by the power of ecstacy, not by any external knowledge, he utters loud sublime speeches. In the year 1050 of the Hejira (1640 A.D.) the doors of friendship opened between him and the author of of this work; from the refulgencies of his mind are the following lines:

"We are not ourselves that what we are; we are that what thou art;
"Thou art without a mark; we are thy mark.
"These marks are the marks of thy being;
"They are the manifestations and the splendor of thy qualities,
"Thou art pure of our care, and of our imagination;

poems, the original text of which was published in 1834, and a French translation of a part of them in 1836, by M. Garcin de Tassy. According to this learned Indianist (see preface to the text, pp. x. xi) Wáli was born in Surat; he wrote about the middle of the 18th century, and was known in India, Iran, and Turan. Is he the same with the above mentioned Wáli? So much only can be said, till better informed, that the one was a contemporary of the other.

" O thou, who art manifest in this our garment;
" Manifestations of thee are all things.
" Thou art independent of the relation of ' thou and we,' and thyself
" art ' thou and we.'

" Thy being comes forth in thy qualities,
" Thy nature is the spring of thy being, O Lord!
" We are all nothing; whatever is, is thou!
" O thou! who art free of notion, imagination, and duality,
" We are all billows in the ocean of thy being;
" We are a small compass of the manifestations of thy nature."

Azadah and Binaválí appear in the dress of Hindus, and profess the belief of the Jnánis, to which they are reckoned to belong.

Mehir chand is a native of the Panjab, and belongs to the class of the goldsmiths of Guzerat; he comes from the school of the disciples of Akamnath, whose opinions he adopted. Akamnath is a Yógí, " a " saint," and possessed of inspiration; according to the belief of his followers, two thousand years of his life have elapsed.

" Like the azure heavens, a sage never dies;
" The intellectual principle is free from storms, and from all that is
" perishable."

One day Akamnath came before the great emperor Jehangír, who is in heaven; the celebrated monarch asked him: " What is thy name?" The sage answered *Sarvat anga*, that is, " All the beings " are my members." In the assembly, before the

sovereign, a book was read; the king, having taken the book from the reader, gave it into the hand of Akamnath, saying: "This is thy saying, read it;" Akamnath returned the book to the reader, bidding him to read on; but when this man began, the king addressed Akamnath: "To thee have I said, read." His answer was: "I have at the beginning de- "clared, that all things in the world are my mem- "bers; I am therefore reading by the tongue of "that man." Vásúl Khaznúyi says:

"So free is my spirit that the creation is my body,
"And that fire, and air, and earth, are my dwelling.
"This celestial sphere, with all its globes,
"Revolves only because it is my wish."

Soon after a sparrow passed, flying from the water. Akamnath declared before the king: "If "with this body, which is near thy majesty, I "should attempt to go upon the water, I could "but sink, but under the form of a bird I passed." The great Mouláná Jamí says:

"The world, with all spirits and bodies,
"Is a certain person whose name is '*World.*'"

They say, that Akamnath went to the Kâbah (of Mecca) and saw the house; he asked somebody: "Where is the master of the house?" That person remained astonished. They opened the door of the house of God; Akamnath repeated the ques-

tion without receiving an answer from them; he then called out: "There is no master of the house in "this edifice: this place is unsafe." Finally, he inquired from the people, why the images which had been in this house, have been thrown out; one answered: "Because an idol is the work of the "hand of a man; and because the forms of men, "who are created, ought not to be worshipped." Akamnath observed: "This house, too, is the "work of men, and any form therein is that of a "man, and the work of men who are created; "should it be worshipped?" having heard this speech, they imprisoned him; but the next morning they found no prisoner: Akamnath was gone. At last, those who returned from the pilgrimage saw him in Hindostan.

"Perhaps shall we find him there in an idol-temple,
"That friend whom we missed in a monastery."

SECTION THE FIFTH: CONCERNING THOSE WHO PROFESS THE SA'NK'HYA[1] DOCTRINES.—They say that there are

[1] A system of philosophy, in which precision of reckoning is observed in the enumeration of its principles, is denominated *Sa'nk'hya'*; a term which has been understood to signify *numeral*, agreeably to the usual acceptation of *Sa'nk'hya'*, "number:" and hence its analogy to the Pythagorean philosophy has been presumed. But the name may be taken to imply that its doctrine is founded in the exercise of judgment; for the

two things in the existence, or that the existence is divided into two parts: the one is truth, which they interpret by *purusha*;[1] the other is illusion, named by them *Prakrit*.[2] *Prakrit* is the cause of the world, and purusha, being from want of knowledge and confusion of the intellect mixed with Prakrit, is in the world encircled, and penetrated by this incon-

word from which it is derived signifies "reasoning," or "deliberation;" and that interpretation of its import is countenanced by a passage of the *Bha'rata*, where it is said of this sect of philosophers: "They exercise "judgment (*Sa'nk'hya'*), and discuss nature and other twenty-four prin- "ciples, and therefore are called *Sa'nk'hya'*" (*Colebrooke on the Philosophy of the Hindus*)—(*Transact. of the R. A. Soc. of Great Br. and Irel.*, vol. I. P. I. p. 20).

[1] *Parusha*, pursuant to the Institutes of Manu (l. I. sl. 11), is taken for the "divine male," or Brahma himself; it signifies in general the embodied soul.

[2] प्रकृत्ति *Prakritti* is a word of the highest import with the Hindu philosophers. In its precise sense, it means "that which is primary," "that which precedes what is made;" from *pra*, "before," and *kri*, "to "make." The Prakritti of the Sánk'hyás is a primary, subtile, universal substance, undergoing modification through its own energy, and for a special motive, by which it is manifest as an individual and formal substance, varied according to the predominance of qualities which are equipoised and inert in the parent, and unequal and active in the progeny (see *Sa'nk'hya' Ka'rika*, translated by Colebrooke, commented by Profess. Wilson, pp. 80–83). The author of The Dabistán in the above passage attributes to *Prakritti* the meaning belonging to *ma'ya'*, "illu- "sion." The Sánk'hyás do not commonly confound the signification of these two words, for they maintain the reality of existing things: but the *Vedantis* and the *Pauranikas* (or followers of the Puranas) regard creation as a delusion, or as a sport of the creator, that is, as the *ma'ya'*. Prakritti is translated by Colebrooke "nature," sometimes "matter" Professor Lassen renders this word by "procreatrix."

gruity. Five imperfections are held to adhere to the purusha, which they call *pancha kalusháni*,[1] "the "five failings, or sins." These are: 1. *avidya*;[2] 2. *ishmatá*;[3] 3. *rága*;[4] 4. *dvésha*;[5] 5. *avivèchaná*.[6] *Avidya* signifies with them that they believe the body and the senses to be the soul; *avidya* knows of no beginning nor origin; *ishmata* means personality, individuality, and selfishness; *rága* is the propensity to what is agreeable; *dvésha*, "hatred," consists in adhering to one's own opinion, and condemning that of others as vicious; *avivèchaná* relates to acting or not acting with passion. The five failings just enumerated keep *Purusha*, "the embodied soul," in distress: but when the mind becomes pure, these five pains are banished. After the purification of the heart, all the qualities which are bad and wicked acquire purity, and the qualities, called by them

[1] पञ्चकलुषानि.

[2] The Persian text has اودیا, *audíjá*.

[3] اسمتا *ismatá*, perhaps इष्मता "desire," from इष "to desire."

[4] राग mental affection in general.

[5] The original has دویش *davísh*.

[6] The edit. of Calc. reads ابهویشہ *abhvèsha*. I am induced to substitute for it *avivèchana* अविवेचना and must remark that the original text appears here, in its denominations and definitions, rather more incorrect than in other places. According to the well known doctrine of the Sánk'hyá, the obstructions of the intellect here meant to be indicated are "error, conceit, passion, hatred, and fear;" which are severally denominated obscurity, illusion, extreme illusion, gloom, and utter darkness (*Transact. R. A. S.*, vol. I. p. 33).

vrittaya,[2] are of four different kinds: the first, *mitrata*;[2] the second, *karuna*;[3] the third, *mada*;[4] the fourth *upèkshá*.[5] *Mitrata* is friendship for the well doers, and benevolence for the men of probity; *karuna* means to be anxious for the good of the friendly-minded, and to relieve the oppressed; *mada* consists in enjoying the quiet happiness of all the creatures of God; *upèksha* signifies, not to use harsh words against those who do ill. These are called *chatur vrittayá*, or "four qualities," which keep the heart under subjection, and prevent it from seeing any thing else; and it is from the existence of these four manners that the five pains before mentioned are annihilated, as well as every thing that attracts them, and the fortunate man who is liberated from these five sicknesses, attains the *satya loka*. And thus is interpreted the appearance of the forms of Prakrit and Purusha in the heart; the professor of this condition knows how to separate them from each other, and becomes wise: by this knowledge Prakrit disappears, after which, having found Purusha, or the true knowledge of himself, which is understood of the soul, man becomes satisfied and happy. According to the opinion of this sect, the five elements are deduced from Prakrit.

[1] वृत्तय:

[2] मित्रत "friendship."

[3] करुणा "tenderness, pity."

[4] मद "joy, pleasure."

[5] उपेक्षा "endurance, patience."

This is the substance of the belief of the Sánk-hyán.[1] In Little Guzerat, a district of the Pan-

[1] This account of the Sánk'hyá philosophy will appear very incomplete as to the whole, and incorrect in the few particulars given. I shall enumerate the principal categories of this philosophy, which are, with little variation, adopted by all the schools of Hindu philosophy, and perpetually alluded to.

Mula-prakritti 1
"NATURE," the root of all, no production.

PRINCIPLES — PRODUCTIONS:

Which are productions and productive: — *Productions of Ahanka'ra are:*

Produced by nature is: *Buddhi*, or *Mahat*, "intellect."

Produced by Buddhi: *Ahanka'ra*, "egotism."

The 11 organs:
- The 5 organs of perception: The ear, — skin, — eye, — tongue, — nose.
- The 5 organs of action: The voice, — hand, — foot, — organs of excretion, — —— - generation.
- The mind.

The five subtile elements, producing ..... The 5 gross elements:

Sound	— —	Ether,
Touch	— —	Air,
Form	— —	Light, or Fire.
Flavor	— —	Water,
Odor	— —	Earth.

7 PRINCIPLES..... + 16 PRODUCTIONS = 23 CATEGORIES.

Purusha, "the soul," neither a production nor productive..... 1 ——

TOTAL ..... 25 *Tatwas*,

That is, physical and metaphysical categories of the Sánk'hyá philosophy.

(See the work quoted, the *Sa'nk'hya' Ka'rika*, translated by Colebrooke, and commented by Professor Wilson, pp. 16–17, and elsewhere.

jab, the author of this work saw Atmáchand, and Máhádéo, who said to belong to the Sank'hyán. According to their opinion, Prakrit is nature, and God is the manifestation of nature, and all the terrestrial and heavenly bodies exist by him, and they said: "What affords verdure to the heads of thorns, "is it not nature?"

SECTION THE SIXTH: ON THE JOGI'S AND THEIR DOCTRINES.—This sect believe that *Isvára*, or the necessary being exists, one, the principle of intellect, without an equal, without decrease nor increase. In the language of the Hindus *Is a*[1] signifies "lord," and without Is'a all is but *jiva*,[2] that is "casualties;" in their language *jiva* means "life;" they hold Is a to be the maker of the whole world, and the creator of all the elements; his holy being is free from care, sickness, and want, and placed out of the circle of work and agency; that is, that this holy being neither wants nor urges any religious rites, such as ablution and the like; his knowledge soars above and comprehends all being; he is the Lord, and none besides him invested with supreme power; death and pain never approach his existence, which has

[1] ईश.

[2] जीव

no limits. *Jíva*, "life," they call what is in the fetters of cares, in the bonds of infirmities, under the pressure of pain, and in the prison of works and doings, and subjected to the control of others, without command over itself. This life is in truth not material nor corporeal; it is by ignorance only that it is thought to be one with the body; and the body is supposed by them to be revolving in the circle of material forms: by the necessity of times and seasons, life abandons the works of the body, and passes into another frame: and in this manner it migrates. Without the *abhásayóga*,[1] the soul cannot be freed of the bonds of the material world, and from the prison of what is corporeal, and *yóga*,[2] in the language of the learned Hindus, signifies "union," or "acquisition;" and *abhyása*,[3] "the "dominion of the eternal sphere," that is, possessing the enjoyment of a desired object; and the purport of the *yóga* is, that the heart be constantly kept in the remembrance of God, and that no foreign object be permitted to enter into that Jerusalem, that is, the house of God. The professor of this union with the desired object reckons eight parts, which

[1] अभ्यासयोग the practice of frequent and repeated contemplation of any deity, or abstract spirit, repeated recollection, etc.

[2] योग: among a great number of significations has that of "religious "exercise."

[3] अभ्यास means, properly, "constant; eternal repetition."

are: 1. *yama*;[1] 2. *niyáma*;[2] 3. *ásana*;[3] 4. *prányáma*;[4] 5. *pratyáhára*;[5] 6. *dháraná*;[6] 7. *dhyána*;[7] 8. *samadhárana*.[8] Yama is composed of five parts: the first is *Ahinsá*,[9] that is, doing injury to nothing, and to kill no other but the great wild beasts; 2. *Satyam*,[10] or "truth;" 3. *Astéyam*,[11] that is, not stealing nor robbing; 4. *Brahma tchári*,[12] or to keep away from women, and all intercourse with them, and to sleep upon the bare ground; 5. *Apragraha*,[13] which is, not to ask any thing from any body, and never to take but what is brought unasked. *Niyáma*, the second

[1] यम religious restraint, or obligation.

[2] नियम or नियाम any religious observance voluntarily practised.

[3] आसन sitting in some particular posture, as is the custom of the devotees; eighty-four kinds are enumerated.

[4] प्राणायाम: breathing in a peculiar way through the nostrils, during the mental recitation of the names or attributes of some deity.

[5] प्रत्याहार: abstraction; insensibility; restraining the organs so as to be indifferent to disagreeable or agreeable excitement.

[6] धारणा fortitude; keeping the mind collected, the breath suspended, and all natural wants restrained; steady immoveable abstraction.

[7] ध्यानं meditation; reflection; mental representation of the personal attributes of the divinity to whom worship is addressed.

[8] समधारणा see *dhárana; sama* is an intensitive.

[9] अहिंसा harmlessness, one of the cardinal virtues of most Hindu sects.

[10] सत्यं.

[11] अस्तेयं.

[12] ब्रह्मचारी a religious student, an ascetic of a certain class.

[13] अपग्रह.

of the eight parts, is divided also into five kinds: the first, *tápasa*,[1] that is, "devout austerity;" 2. *japa*,[2] or "devotion by means of beads, stripes of "cloth, ejaculations, mental or loud repetition of the "names and attributes of God;" 3. *Sama*,[3] which is, "tranquillity and satisfaction;" 4. *Suchi*,[4] or "purity, sanctity, perfection;" 5. *Is'a-pútcha*,[5] "worshipping and praising God." *Asana*, the third of the eight parts of the yoga, means "sitting in "some particular posture," various kinds of which are used among them. *Pránáyama*, the fourth part, consists in "drawing in and letting out the breath, "according to an established mode and fixed rule." *Pratyá hára*, the fifth part, signifies "withdrawing "the heart from all the desires and attractions of "the five senses; and keeping away from all sorts "of lust, the sight of beauty, the odor of the rose "and of sandal, and from all material and exterior "enjoyments." *Dhárana*,[6] the sixth part, implies that, "in the heart of the cone-bearing tree, which "is the centre of the bosom, and which the people

[1] तापस.

[2] जाप muttering prayers.

[3] शाम.

[4] शुचि.

[5] ईशापूजा.

[6] See the signification of *dha'rana*, as taken from Wilson's Dict., and given in note 6, p. 125.

" of India have compared to the flower of a pond " (*lotus*), the heart holds a fixed habitation; that is, " they guard it in that place."

Dhyána, the seventh part, is the remembrance of God the Almighty. *Samadhárana*, the eighth part, signifies that the heart, attached to the work of God, forgets the work of the world, in such a manner that in his presence, turned towards him, it remains absorbed in him, and feels itself lightened of all exterior sense and satisfied. The wise, who carries these eight parts to a high degree of perfection, hears and sees from afar; his pure knowledge elevates him; and he becomes strong in the science of Yog, which is the science of the union with the desired object; the all-bounteous God regards him with pity, and discards all pains, all sicknesses, all wants, and all deficiencies from his existence. According to this sect, it is by attaining to these eight conditions, that *Mukt*, which signifies " emancipa- " tion," is acquired.

This is the substance of the doctrine of the Yogís; now, I will relate something of the opinions and actions of these sectaries, who have been noticed in this time as professing the doctrine of the *Yog*. The Yogís are a class well known in India, and *yóga*, in the Sanskrit language, means " union;" they believe that they unite with God, whom they call *Alíka*,[1] and

[1] अलोल Heaven.

according to their creed he is the divinity by excellence; moreover his being is to be venerated under the name of *Gorakhnáth*;[1] in like manner, *Machhendernáth*[2] and *Chórengínáth*[3] are great personages or saints.

They believe Brahma, Vichnu, and Mahadeva to be subordinate divinities, but they are, as followers and disciples, addicted to Gorakhnath; thus, some devote themselves to the one or the other of the deities.

This sect is divided into twelve classes, which are as follow:[4] *Satyanath, Ayípanthi, Kas'yapa, Vairag, Nátiri, Ardhanari, Náyari, Amara nath, Kam-hibdás, Jóli handi, Tarnaknath, Jágar prarág:* these are called *panthi nék*, "good sects," and *panthi* signifies "a tribe,

[1] गोरखनाथ a name adopted by a class of Yógis—(*Wils. Dict.*, sub voce, *na'tha.*

[2] Perhaps मचर्चिक नाथ *macharchika na'tha*, "lord of excellence," or "happiness."

[3] Probably चूडाङ्कनाथ *chu'da'nka na'tha*, "lord of the ornament of "the crest."

[4] Professor Wilson (see his Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus, in the XVIth vol. of the *As. Res.*, p. 1–136) has enumerated the religious divisions of the Hindus as they have been described by the author of the *Sankara Vijaya*, probably in the 8th century of our era, to which enumeration he added that of the present divisions of this people, comprised in three great classes: the *Vaichnavas*, the *Sáivas*, and the *Saktas*. Very few names of these sects are to be found in The Dabistán, although both works agree in general in the account of the opinions, rites, and customs of the different sectaries; the outlines of their systems appear to have remained the same during at least the last thousand years, whatever alterations the details may have undergone.

"a sect."[1] According to their opinion, the chiefs of all religions, sects, and creeds proceed as disciples from the prophet and saint Gorakhnath, and what they found, they have found it from him. Their belief is that Muhammed (to whom be peace) was also a pupil and disciple of Gorakhnath, but, from fear of the Muselmans, they dare not declare it; they say, that Bábá Rin Háji, that is, Gorakhnath, was the foster-father of the prophet, who, having received the august mission, took the mode of Yog from the sublime road of true faith; and a great many of them agree with the Muselmans in fasting and in prayers, and perform several acts according to the religion of that people. The sect of Yogís know no prohibited food; they eat pork as the Hindus and the Nazárains, and cow-flesh, like the Muselmans, and so on; they also kill and eat men, according to the custom of the Akmían, as will be related hereafter; and they drink wine like the Guébers. There are some of this sect, who, having mixed their excretions and filtered them through a piece of cloth, drink them and say, that such an act renders a man capable of great affairs, and they pretend to know strange things. They call the performer of this act *Atilla* and also *Akhóri*. Although

[1] *Panthi* is derived from the Sanskrit पन्थिन् *panthin*, "who goes the "road." This term occurs only in the word परिपन्थिन् *pari-panthi*, "an "adversary."

they have all originated from Gorakhnath, and adhere to him in the generality of their faith, yet some follow the road of those who attached themselves to the twelve divisions of the Yoga.

Among them, the restraining of the breath is held in great esteem, such as it was practised among the Parsian by Azar Hushang, and by the kings of that people. It is stated in the Bastán namah, that Afrasíab, the son of Pashang, was strong in restraining his breath, and it was on account of this qualification that, when he had escaped from the sling of Aâbid, he kept himself concealed in the water. This history is known.[1] Among the Hindus and the Parsian Yezdanián, nothing is esteemed higher than this. I have said something of this custom in the

[1] According to the Shah-nameh, Afrasiab, after many battles, succombed to the fortune of Kaï-Khusro. The king of Turan fled to the mountains of Berdah, where he concealed himself in a cavern. It so happened that Hum, a descendant of Feridun, lived as a hermit in the same desert: there he heard by night a voice of complaint, which he soon recognised to be that of Afrasiab. The hermit had not extinguished the vindictive passion in his breast; he seized and bound the fugitive king, and conducted him to be delivered into the hands of Kâï Khusró. On the bank of a large river, Hum, visited by a feeling of pity, loosened the fetters of his prisoner, who profited by these few moments of liberty to escape, and dived into the water, where he remained concealed, as is said above, so that he could not be discovered. Kâï Khusró, having in the mean time arrived to receive himself the great captive, Hum advised the king to subject Gorshivez (Afrâsiab's brother) who was also a prisoner in his hands, to severe tortures, in order that the lamentations of the sufferer might draw Afrasiab out of the water. This stratagem succeeded, and Afrasiab was killed by the sword of Kâï Khusró.

article upon the Parsian Sipasían: in this place I shall state more of it.

This science of the breath is an imaginary one. The Yogis, the Sanyásies, the Hindus, and the Tapasís, say that, when one has the intention of mastering his breath, he most strictly abstains from intercourse with women, from eating salt and any thing bitter and sour, as well as from toil; then, tending towards this purpose, he will know that from the place of sitting to the summit of the head there are seven divisions of the body, which the Azarián call *haft khán amèkhi*, "the seven places of "union," and the Yogís, *sapta chakra*,[1] "seven cir-"cles." The first is the region about the pubis, similar to a flower with four leaves; the Hindus call it *muládhára*.[2] In the middle of this originates a member, which the Hindus call *manthar*,[3] and the Arabians ذکر *zicker*, and this is the second region. The third is the navel, from the centre of which pro-

[1] सप्त चक्राः In the best treatises of the Hindu philosophers, we find only six *chakras*, or "circles," enumerated; these are as follow: 1. *Mula'dha'ra*, "the parts about the pubis;" 2. the *Swa'dishtha'nam*, or "umbi-"lical region;" 3. the *Manipu'ram*, "pit of the stomach," or "epigas-"trium;" 4. *Ana'hatam*, "the root of the nose;" 5. *Visuddham*, "the "hollow between the frontal sinuses;" 6. *Ajnya'khyam*, "the fonte-"nelle, or union of the coronal and sagittal sutures." To these circles, or divisions, are attributed various faculties and relations with divinities and physical elements.

[2] मूलाधार.

[3] मन्थर् "a churning stick."

ceeds a fire-colored vein, entitled by the Hindus *nábhi chakra.*[1] The fourth region is that of the heart, called by the Hindus *manipuram,*[2] and that is like a flower with twelve leaves. The fifth is the wind-pipe, in the language of the Hindus *kanṭa.*[3] The sixth comprehends the interval between the two eyebrows, in Sanskrit *bhruva.*[4] The seventh region is that of the head, which is called by the Hindus *brahmanda.*[5] It is to be known that in these regions there are many veins, among which three, as the principal, are to be distinguished: the one is on the right side, "the solar vein;" the other in the middle, "the earthen;" the third on the left side, "the lunar;" these veins are named in the language of the Hindus *áditya*, *pankila*, and *somana*;[6] in the Persian language, *mahna*, *mínà*, and *mánà.*[7] One of the three veins is the greatest, that, namely, which running from the middle of the back to the right of the back bone, divides beyond it into two branches,

[1] नाभिचक्र.

[2] मणिपुर.

[3] कण्ठ.

[4] भ्रुव.

[5] ब्रह्माण्ड signifies "Brahma s egg," to which the earth is compared, and probably, as above, the head.

[6] आदित्य, पङ्किल, सोमन.

[7] These words have, in the Persian dictionary, a signification different from that which is above attributed to them, and seem to be technical terms belonging to the doctrine of a sect.

the one of which attains to the right, the other to the left of the nostrils; the breath and the wind comes from them, and the air which proceeds from these veins extends, during a man's being awake, to twelve, during sleep to thirty-two, and during coition to sixty-four fingers: this air and breath they hold to be the foundation of life, and a great importance is attached to this subject by the learned Sipásian and Hindus. They believe the wind to be of ten kinds; but what according to them is essential to know, is the superior and inferior winds, which by the Hindus are called *Prána* and *Ápána*;[1] by the Persians, *Alayi* and *Pásáyi*. These two winds attract each other mutually, and in pronouncing "*han*," the breath goes out, in pronouncing "*sa*," it goes within; and this takes place during prayers, without the aid and the motion of the tongue; when they fix upon a name, it becomes *hansa*, and they say also *hamsa*: the Hindus call it *ajapa*,[2] that is, it is pronounced

[1] प्राण *pra'na* is breath, expiration, and inspiration; अपान *apa'na* is flatulence, *crepitus*. Besides these two winds, the Hindus name three other winds, namely: *Jama'na*, eructation, supposed to be essential to digestion; *Uda'na*, passing from the throat into the head; it is the pulsation of the arteries in the head, the neck, and temples; *Vya'na*, expanding through the whole body; it is the pulsation of the rest of the superficial arteries and occasional puffiness of external parts, indicating air in the skin (see *Vedanta Sara*, edit. Calc., p. 9; and *Sa'nkhya' Ka'rita*, work quoted, p. 103).

[2] अजप is a particular mantra, or mystical formula, employed by the

without the aid of the tongue; and in Persian it has the name of *damánlbád*, or "sound of the wind." Thus there is, above the channel of the region of the pubis, a most subtile vein; from the summit of the shank a flower, bright and similar to gold in redness, expands itself from eight roots, and after having from this origin raised its head, and taken the high direction to the top of the head, it is there closed: this the Hindus call *Kundelí*,[1] "a snake;" and the Persians *Ruhen már*, and *Ráushibár*: and the path of the vein of the head is a middle one. When the Kundeli awakes to draw breath from a high feeling, it rises to the summit of the head; in like manner as a thread passes through the eye of a needle, it goes through the said opening to the top of the head. If thou knowest this mode well, thou understandest the modes of sitting; of these we mentioned one in the section upon the Sipasián; in this place we shall give a further account of this subject. The most approved mode of sitting is that which in the Hindu language is called *Maha ásana*,[2] and *Sáda ásana*,[3] that is "sitting as the High, the "mature of age, and the accomplished," which in

Tantrikas, the essence of which is the letters *H* and *S*, whence it is termed the *Hansa-mantra*.

[1] कुण्डली.

[2] महा आसन.

[3] साद आसन

Persian is termed *sánishín.* The mode of this is as follows: the heel of the left foot is placed at the orifice of the anus, and the heel of the other foot raised up straight to the pubis, and to the bust; the eyes, without twinkling, are directed to the middle of the eyebrows, then the part about the pubis is put in motion; the inferior wind is drawn with the superior towards the upper parts, and raised by degrees until it reaches the head. We have explained the mode of drawing up the breath in the section upon the Sipasían. At the time of drawing it up, the beginning is made on the side of the left, for emission through the right, of the nostrils; when drawn up on the right it is also passing through the right, and the inferior wind emitted: this performance is called *Pránáyama,*[1] by the Hindus, and *Aferasdam,* that is, "raising of the breath," by the Persians. The devotee, on drawing up the breath at the left side, forms the image of the moon; that is, he places the disk of the moon to the left, and to the right that of the sun. Some of the Sipásian place the image of one of the seven planets at every stage of their devotion. This mode is held in great esteem among the Hindus at all prayers and religious exercises; they say, the adept in it has the power of flying; he never falls sick, is exempt from death, and from hunger

[1] See, on it, vol. I. p. 80.

and thirst; it is stated in the Ramzsitán of the Persian, that by means of this power Kái Khusro is still alive. The Sipásían and the historians relate, that whoever carries this process to perfection, rises above death; as long as he remains in the body, he can put it off and be again reunited to it; he never suffers from sickness, and is fit for all business. They say that Kaí Khusró, when he had acquired perfection in this devotion, felt his heart estranged from existence in this world; he chose retirement from men, and having separated from this body, he associated with the incorporeal beings, and found eternal life. The Hindus hold that, whenever a man has perfected himself in this act, Brahma, Vichnu, and Mahadéva have no command over him, but he rules over them. According to a great number of the Hindus, it is this perfection which is personified in the three deities, namely, Brahma, Vichnu, and Mahadéva: and it is the belief of many, that whoever becomes master of this process of devotion, coalesces with God himself. Much has been said and written upon this subject by the Hindus and by the Persians. The Sipásians have a book entitled *Sányal*, which contains a great deal on this subject, and there exists no better book about it. Other writings are those of Zardúsht, as well as the *Sarud i-mastan*, and the like, in great numbers, which I have seen. Among the Hindus similar

works abound, such as that composed by *Atmá Ráma*, a Yogí, who is known under the name of *Bahet Barváng*, and the book of Gorakh Singh, which has been composed by Gorakhnath, and that of *Ambaret Kant*. The author of the Dabistán says: "I "saw Ambaret Kant, who has also translated his "work into Persian, under the title *Huz ul Hayat*. "Therein are the sayings of Gorakhnath, supposed "to proceed from the prophet Khizar, and Machin- "der Yónas; but these speeches, pursuant to Am- "barat Kant, are not original; they are in fact those "of Gorakhnath; as, according to the Yogís, Brahma "came and went some hundred thousand times, but "Gorakhnath remained." Relatively to the Yoga, this book gives no further explanation.

Balik Nátha, they say, a penitent, was of royal extraction, and attained great perfection in the Yoga; he restrained his breath during one week, and after having passed one hundred and twenty years of his life, he had not lost his strength. I have heard from the Mobéd Hushíar, the author of several books, that in the year 1028 of the Hejira (1618 A. D.), he brought me to him, and requested him to bless me; Balik nath pronounced then upon me: "This boy shall acquire the knowledge "of God."

Serud nath, descending from Humayún, was of a noble origin. Having in his youth attained to the

mastership of that sect, he could restrain his breath for two days. In the year 1048 of the Hejira (1638 A. D.), the author of this work saw him in Lahore.

Sanjá náth, of the sect of Ayí, was a man accomplished in restraining the breath; the people numbered him among the saints, and said, that seven hundred years of his life had elapsed without his hair having yet become white: he was, in the last mentioned year, seen in Lahore.

Súraj nath made great proficiencyin mastering the breath; for several years, he has chosen his retirement in Pesháver, and is occupied with his own concern. The people think his age scarce less than that just before stated. The writer of this work visited him in the year 1055 of the Hejira (1645 A.D.), and saw several of the Yogies, an account of whom cannot find place in this book.

It is an established custom among the Yogís that, when malady overpowers them, they bury themselves alive. They are wont also, with open eyes, to force their looks towards the middle of their eyebrows, until so looking they perceive the figure of a man; if this should appear without hands, feet, or any member, for each case they have determined that the boundaries of their existence would be within so many years, months, or days. When they see the figure without a head, they know that there cer-

tainly remains very little of their life; on that account, having seen the prognostic, they bury themselves. However the Jnánís of India hold this figure to be an illusion, and an appearance without a trace of reality.

As the Sanyásis are also pious men, I will join an account of them to that of the Yogís. The Sanyásis make choice of abnegation and solitude; they renounce all bodily enjoyments; some, in order that they may not be invested with another body, and migrate from body to body; a great number, in order to go to heaven; and a multitude, in order to acquire dominion, that is, to become kings, or very rich men. When a man becomes a Sanyási, he must give up all desire to return again into the world. They are distinguished by names, and divided into ten classes, namely: *Ban, A'ran, Tírthah, A'shram, Kar, Parbatah, Sákar, Bhárthy, Perí*, and *Sarsatí*. They are frequently holy men, and abstain from eating flesh, and renounce all intercourse with women. This class follow the dictates of Datáteri, whom they also venerate as a deity, and say that he is an incarnation of Naráyan, and in the retaining of breath attained to such a degree that he is exempted from death. When he came into the presence of Gorakhnath, who is the chief of the Yogís, and according to the opinion of the Sanyásis, an incarnation of Mahádéo, Datáterí, for the sake of trial,

smote Gorakhnath on the head, who took the appearance of iron. Datáteri told him: "Thou hast not "done well; there is no striking iron." When Gorakhnath himself bade him to combat, Datáteri glided off from the body, in the same manner as water glides off, and reunited safely again. In this sense S'abur Mashedi says:

"*The whole body became water, withhold thy hand from killing me,*
"*As often as thou strikest a blow, my body reunites.*"

Afterwards, Gorakhnath disappeared in the water; Datáteri, having found and recognised him in the shape of a frog, brought him forth. When Datáteri concealed himself in the water, Gorakhnath, in spite of all his searching, could not succeed in discovering him, because he was mixed with the water, and water cannot be distinguished from water. Mirzá Baki Alí says:

"When a drop is united with the sea, it becomes sea,
"In substance, the bubble and billow are water: solve this riddle."

Another says:

"From apprehension I became water: it is useless to strike water:
"I am astonished that he assailed my fortune."

There are two classes of Sanyásis: the one, the *Dandaheri*,[1] do not wear long hair, and are attached to the precepts and regulations of the *smriti*, or of

[1] दण्डिो a mendicant carrying a staff.

the law: the second are the *Avadhútas*;[1] they are like the other class; they wear the zunar, and drink water mixed with ashes; but, contrary to the Dandahar, they let their hair grow so that it becomes like ropes, and this they call *juta*;[2] they do not bathe every day, and rub their head and body with ashes, which they call *bhabút*;[3] at the time of death, the two classes, having tied the body in a bag full of salt, throw it into the water, where, by its weight and that attached to it, it remains a few days sunk in the bottom, until they bury it in the earth.

The head of the second class is Sankara acharya; Saha dèva, the rája of Kachmir, who in the year 750 of the Hejira (1349 A. D.) pulled off the garment of the world, chose him for his teacher. Sankara acharya was a learned Brahman, of a very independent mind; the Hindus say that when the learned did not understand the Vedanta-s'astra, Mahádéva, having incarnated himself, appeared in the shape of Sankara acharya, for the purpose of interpreting the Vedanta doctrine, upon which subject many books have been written. *Sastra*[4] signi-

[1] अवधूत.

[2] जूट.

[3] भस्म *bhasma*, "ashes," भस्मीभूत *bhasmi'buta*, "becoming ashes."

[4] शास्त्र *sa'stra*, from शास *sa'sa*, "to govern," an order, command, institutes of religion, science, etc.

fies, in the Sankrit language, "science," and *Véda*, the "heavenly book," as has been said; *anta*,[1] is "end, the accomplishment;" that is, "the accomplishment of the intended object;" and the intent of the Veda is the knowledge of God and of one's self. On that account this science, which consists in the knowledge of the union of God, as it is to be derived from the text of the Veda, has been entitled *Veda-anta*, "the accomplishment of the Veda." Sankara acharya was a *Jnáni*, "a saint, a divine," professing the unity of God; his speeches and actions became the code of the Jnánis.

One of these, called *Chatúr Vapah*, belongs to the class of the *Dandahars*; he descends from the Brahmans of Guzerat, whom they call *Nága-Brahmans*; his father, of the order of jewellers, enjoyed great consideration and opulence. Chatúr Vapah, having acquired great perfection in the worship of God, abandoned wife, father, mother, and children; and chose the condition of a Sanyási; he devoted himself to the practice of restraining the breath, and at last attained great reputation, but never relaxed in his religious austerity; he ate no more than three handsful; they say that sometimes he tasted nothing but salt, and contented himself with three pinches of it; the nature of his manners is so well known among

[1] अन्त.

the Sanyásis, that it is not required to say more of it in this book. They say besides that, on account of his perseverance in the beforesaid practice, and on hearing the voice of God, a sound similar to that of a harp issued from his veins. A Durvish, native of Persia, gave the following information: "In the "year 1045 of the Hejira (1635 A. D.), one night "Chatur Vapah came to me, and said: 'Rise, that "'we may take a walk together;' I went with him "and arrived at a deep water. Chatur Vapah, "having put his feet upon the surface of the water, "walked upon it so as not to raise a sprinkling; "he then called me; going along the border of the "pond, I joined him, who until my arrival awaited "me upon an elevated block of stone which was "near the pond. When I had seated myself near "him, he pointed to the block, and said: 'Dost "'thou guess whose work this is?' Having con-"sidered the bulk of the stone, which was not less "than ten cubits in length, I was struck with asto-"nishment, and said: 'This may be the work of a "'deity.' Chatur Vapah replied: 'One of my friends "'dwelt here, and endeavored to shape this block "'into his habitation, and having brought the huge "'stone upon his shoulder from the high mountain, "'began to work it. The people, astonished at "'the bulk of the stone, sat down at night in a "' lurking-place, so that they saw the Sanyási with

" ' the great stone on his shoulder. On that account
" ' they represented to him: What is the reason of
" ' undergoing such labour? Command, and we
" ' will bring the stone down from the mountain,
" ' and shape it right, provided the block be not
" ' too large. The Sanyási got angry, and left the
" ' village.' Chatúr Vapah afterwards added: 'Rise,
" ' and let us go to see him:' we went there. Sitting
" cross-legged, he was occupied with himself. Cha-
" túr Vapah said to him: ' This Durvish is my
" ' friend; call the musician.' He replied: ' Raise
" ' thou the light up.' At these words, Chatur Vapah
" directed his looks to the field, and an immense
" torch burst forth, lighted from the mysterious
" region, and threw its scattered refulgence wide
" about, and the sound of many musical instruments
" came upon the ear. At day-break we took leave
" of him, and returned by the road which we came
" to our resting place." Khája Hafiz says right:

" When the chief of the wine-cellar became my preceptor, what dispartiy
" is there in it?
" There is no place which is not the place of God.
" In the cell of the hermit, in the circle of the Sufis,
" There is no principal place of the worshipper but
" The extremity of the arch of thy two eyebrows."

The Hakim Kamrán of Shíraz says: " We were
" in Benares with Chatúr Vapah. One of the prin-
" cipal Muselmans who visited him asked him:
" ' What dost thou say of the truth of our prophet?'

" He answered: ' You say that he is a legate of God,
" ' and a leader of the way to the people to which the
" ' King of truth has sent him; but it is not becom-
" ' ing for those who are companions of the Monarch
" ' of the world to take orders from him.' " The inhabitant of heaven, Nuraddin Jehangír (may the light of God illume his grave!) believed and placed a suitable confidence in him. Abdár ṛahim of the Khánkhan prostrated himself before him. In the year 1033 of the Hejira (1623 A. D.), the author of this work, then in his infancy, came with his friends and relations from Patna to the capital, Akbár abad, and was brought in the arms of the Mobéd Hushíar, the odor of whose excellent qualities is diffused about, to Chatur Vapah. The pious man rejoiced at it, and bestowed his blessing on me, the writer of this work; he taught me the mantra of *Súrya*, that is, of the sun; he then enjoined Ganés'a-man, one of his disciples who were present on this day, that he should remain with me until the age of manhood, when I should be able to manage my affairs myself. Ganés'a-man remained attached to me: he was a pupil of Chatur Vapah, and practised the restraining of the breath assiduously. The Mobéd Hushíar says, he once saw him when, sitting cross-legged, he restrained his breath so that his belly, filled with wind, extended beyond his knees. The Gosáin Chatur Vapah travelled to the

everlasting kingdom in the year 1047 of the Hejira (1637 A. D.).

The author of this book saw, in the year 1053 of the Hejira (1643 A. D.), Kalían Bharatí in Karitpúr in the Kohistan of the Panjab, which was the country of the rája Tarachandra. Kalían was a religious man, and kept his breath for two watches, or six hours. The Bháratís are a class of Sanyásis. From Ferzánah Khushí, who is a pious man of the Yezdanían, was received the information, that Kalián Bhárati used to drink, first, oil of lamps, and then milk, both which he emitted again in such a manner that the color of each was preserved, and no mixture had taken place. Kalin Bhárati always praised Persia; the author of this work told him: "You "have no connection in India; you should go there." He answered: "I went to Iran, but when I saw the "king of the country, Shah Abas Ibne Sultan,[1] who "ought to be a servant of God, I found him to be "full of years, and although highly intelligent, yet

[1] The king of Persia above mentioned was probably Abbas, the son of Shah Muhammed Mirza. He began to reign in 1585, and died in 1628, in his 70th year. He was called "the Great," although his character and life were stained by vices but too common to Oriental princes. To him succeeded his grandson Shah Súfí, in 1627, and died in 1641; then the son of the latter, Abbas II, not yet ten years old, was proclaimed king; at the date above mentioned, viz. 1643, he was about twelve years old, and could therefore not be the king characterised by Kalin Bharati, who could very easily, but fifteen years before the epoch above mentioned, have seen Abbas "the Great," then, as he says, "full of years."

" merciless, a shedder of blood, covetous, a word-
" breaker, a friend to jesting, and admirer of buf-
" foonery. In his country it was promulgated that
" wherever a boy or girl gifted with beauty could
" be found, they should be brought before the king.
" The Sufís of the tribe Kazelbásh brought boys
" and girls to the king, that he might indulge him-
" self in any shameful act of his liking. I asked
" myself whether, if such a behaviour were con-
" formable to their religion, I could remain in this
" town? When I inquired about it from their
" learned men, they denied it. I further asked,
" whether the king approves of such deeds? They
" said: ' These are deeds, customary with men of
" our faith. I then again said to myself: the king
" is the substitute of God; if he himself goes astray,
" is not firm in his faith, and does not disavow any
" part of this religion, then it is not advisable to
" remain in this town." Kalin Bharati also said:
" I cannot bear seeing a man who is not firm in his
" faith; one who professes no religion at all is, at
" least, his own guide; the professor of any faith
" who does what he says, and is fixed in it, deserves
" not to be blamed."

The writer of this book found, in the year 1048 of the Hejira (1638 A. D.), Aisha Girda, in Kashmir. Ferzanah Khushí says, that he kept his breath during three watches, or nine hours, and he found Maden

Kir equal to him. This was a man skilled in all sorts of magic and sleight of hand: whenever well disposed, he scattered bread and salt about, brought milk forth from bones, cut bones in two with a hair, and passed birds' eggs through the narrow neck of a bottle, and exhibited such like tricks.

Other Sanyásis remain twelve years standing upon one leg, and this class is called *Thávésar*.[1] Those who keep continual silence are called *Máuninas*.[2] Many other, like these, are mentioned in Hindu books, which the author of this work perused, but has no room for describing them all in these pages; some of this class are men of consideration and opulence, and are escorted by files of elephants; they have carriages, fine apparel, courtiers, servants, on foot and horseback.

SECTION THE SEVENTH DESCRIBES THE TENETS OF THE SA'KTI'AN.—The belief of this sect is as follows: Síva, that is Mahádeva, who in their opinion with little exception is the highest of the deities, and the greatest of the spirits, has a spouse whom they call

[1] Probably स्थातार्स् *stha'ta'ras*.

[2] मौनिनस्.

Máyá sakti;[1] this spouse shows first one color, and then another, that is, something else than what really exists: for instance, water like wine. This spiritual and material principle has three natures and three qualities, namely: *rajas*,[2] that is, "domi- "nion and desire;" *sattva*,[3] which is "rectitude "and wisdom, and the power to control the senses, "not to be subject to them;" and *tamas*,[4] or "vio- "lence, passion, besides eating, gluttony, and sleep- "ing." With the Hindus, Brahma, Vichnu, and Mahadeva are personified as proceeding from these three conditions,[5] or as the powers of the three qualities mentioned. This Máyá is the maker of the productions of this world and of its inhabitants, and the creator of the spirits and of the bodies; the universe and its contents are born from her: from respect of the said productions and of the mentioned

[1] माया शक्ति.

[2] रजस् "foulness," according to the interpretation of Colebrooke and Wilson.

[3] सत्त्वं "goodness."

[4] तमस् "darkness."

[5] According to the Vayu-Purana (ch. V.), Brahma proceeds from *rajas*; Vichnu from *sattvam*; and Siva or Mahadeva from *tamas*. According to the Sánkhyá Kárika (sl. xiii): "Goodness (sattvam) is considered to be "alleviating and enlightening; foulness (rajas), urgent and versatile; "darkness (tamas), heavy and enveloping. Like a lamp, they co-operate "for a purpose (by union of contraries)."

effects, she is entitled *Jagat-ambá*,[1] or "mother of "the universe;" non-entity finds no access to this creator; the garment of perishableness does not sit right upon the body of this fascinating empress; the dust of nothingness does not move round the circle of her dominion; the real beings of heaven, and the accidental creations of the nether world, are equally enamoured and intoxicated of desire before her; bound by these ties of deceit in this revolving world, whoever rebels feels the desire of *mukt*, that is, of emancipation, independence, and happiness; nevertheless, from carelessness, he pays obedience and worship to this world-deceiving queen, and never abandons the path of adoration of this bewitching lady. This goddess, that is the spiritual principle, exists in all living beings in six circles, which they call *shat chakras*,[2] as the fibres in the stalk of a water-lily, in which there are six divisions: 1. the *Muládhára*, or "the sitting-place;" 2. the *Manipúram*, that is, "the navel;" 3. the *Swadhishtanam*,[3] "the firm place, and which commands the upper "region of the navel;" 4. *Hrid*,[4] or "the heart;"

[1] जगद् अम्बा.

[2] षट् चक्रा: See the six circles or regions of the human body enumerated (p. 131, notes); here the denominations of the three last divisions are different from the former.

[3] स्वाधिष्ठानं.

[4] हृद्.

5. *Sáda*,[1] that is, "the purified mansion and the place "of purification," and this proceeds from the upmost part of the breast; 6. *Agni tchakra*,[2] or "the circle "of the fire," and this is that of the eye-brows. These are the six circles, and above them is *Indra*, that is the window of life, and the passage of the soul, which is the top and middle of the head; and in that place is the flower of the back of one thousand leaves: this is the residence of the glorious divinity, that is, of the world-deceiving queen, and in this beautiful site reposes her origin. With the splendour of one hundred thousand world-illuminating suns, she wears, at the time of rising, manifold odoriferous herbs and various flowers upon her head and around her neck: her resplendent body is penetrated with perfumes of various precious ingredients, such as musk, safran, sandal and amber, and bedecked with magnificent garments: in this manner, as was just described, she is to be represented. The worship of her form and appearance, the adoration and submission, ought to be internal and true; and the exterior veneration, to be paid before her image; moreover, all that has been divided into five sections and explained in the Yoga śastra, is to be performed with assiduity. The interior worship

[1] साद्.

[2] अग्नि चक्र.

consists in representing her image, and in keeping her remembrance every where; the possessor of such an imaginative faculty and devotedness is called *bhakta*,[1] that is, "a possessor of gladness and of the "mansion of perfect delight, and of *mukt*, or 'libe-" 'ration to be enjoyed in this mansion of a perma-"nent happy existence." The mode of this worship is contained in the *Agama*,[2] and the whole sect conform themselves to it. With them, the power of Mahadeva's wife, who is Bhávání, surpasses that of the husband. The zealous of this sect worship the *Siva-linga*, although other Hindus also venerate it. *Linga*[3] is called the virile organ, and they say on behalf of this worship that, as men and all living beings derive their existence from it, adoration is duly bestowed on it. As the linga of Mahadeva, so do they venerate the *bhaga*,[4] that is, the female organ. A man very familiar with them gave the information that, according to their belief, the high altar, or principal place in a mosque of the Muselmans, is an emblem of the *bhaga*. Another man

[1] भक्त.

[2] आगम a work on sacred science in general, and in particular a *Tantra*, or any work, inculcating the mystical worship of Siva and Sakti.

[3] लिङ्ग The Phallus, or Siva, under that emblem; it signifies also nature, or *Prakritti*, according to the Sánkhya philosophy, which considers this as the active power in creation.

[4] भग.

among them said that, as the just-named place emblems the bhaga, the minar, or turret of the mosque represents the linga: on which account both are found together. In many places and among a great number of the Hindus, this worship exists: a great many follow the Agama, in which wine drinking is approved, and if, instead of a common cup, a man's skull (which they call *kapála*[1]) be used, the beverage is much more agreeable. They hold the killing of all animals, even of man, to be permitted, and call it *bala*.[2] At night they go to the places which they call *s'mas'ána*,[3] and where the dead bodies are burnt; there they intoxicate themselves, eat the flesh of the corpses burnt, and copulate before the eyes of others with women, which they name *s'akti pújа*:[4] and if the devoted woman be that of another, the good work is so much the more valuable, and it is certain that they offer their wives to each other; the disciples bring their wives and daughters to their preceptor; they unite with their mothers, sisters, paternal and maternal aunts, which is against the custom of the Hindus, who do not take daughters of their near relations. The author of this work saw one of

[1] कपाल.

[2] बलं "rigor, severity, blood, strength, power,"

[3] श्मशानं "a cemetery."

[4] शक्ति पूजा.

the learned men of this sect, who read to him a book of modern composition upon their customs, and therein was stated that it is permitted to mix with every woman except one's daughter. This man began to abuse the work, saying that the text was contrary to the old customs of this class, and that no such thing is to be found in the ancient books, and declared it at last to be a mistake of the copyist. They say that the woman exists for the sake of being desired; she may be a mother or a daughter. In their opinion, there is no enjoyment higher that that of love; the Hindus call it *kámada;*[1] and say that, when a woman and a man are in close conversation, whoever disturbs them is worthy of God's malediction, because they both therein share a state of happiness. The Agama favors both sexes equally, and makes no distinction between women; they may belong to whomsoever; men and women compose equally humankind, and whatever they bring forth makes part of it. This sect hold women in great esteem, and call them *s'aktis* (powers); and to ill treat a *s'akti*, that is, a woman, is held a crime. The high and low value the Lulís (public girls) very high, and call them *deva kanya,*[2] "daughters of the gods."

Among them, it is a meritorious act to sacrifice

[1] कामद, "giving what is wished; granting one's desire."

[2] देव कनया:

a man, which they call *naramédha;*[1] then the *gómédha,*[2] or sacrifice of a cow; further, the *asvaméda,*[3] and finally, any other animal. When they perform a sacrificial ceremony, which they call Kála-dek *(kaladéya)*, they unite the blood of as many animals as possible in a large vase, and place therein the man whom they bring over to their creed, and they drink with him from that blood. Whenever the worship of a god, or of the wife of a god is performed, the ceremony is called *ishtam,*[4] and the master of the ceremony *ishta*. The creed of this sect is, that any god or wife of a god may be worshipped in two ways: the one is called *bhadram,*[5] which consists in abstaining from shedding blood, and in being pure; the other, termed *vakam,*[6] which admits spilling blood, commerce with women, and neglect of purity; but they think this second preferable, and say that each deity, male or female, has a form under which he or she is to be represented; but that the worship of a female divinity affords a greater recompense.

1 नर् मेद्.

2 गो मेध.

3 अश्व मेद्. काल देयं.

4 इष्टं, "an act of sacrifice, an oblation," etc.; from इष *isha*, "to wish;" substituted for यज्ञ *yadjna*, "to sacrifice."

5 भद्रं "pure, pious, virtuous."

6 वक्रं "to be crooked, depraved, wicked."

When they have an intimate connection with their own or another's wife, they behold in her the image of the goddess, and think to personate the god, her husband, and at this time they sing a prescribed song, which to entune at the very moment of the closest junction, they believe to be most recommendable. There is a deity whose praise they sing with unwashed hands;[1] and another whom they worship with the mark of their cast drawn with dirt on their forehead. Some of these goddesses are by them called "queens," and others "servants;" and the worshipper of a woman is also termed "servant."

The author of this work saw a man who, singing the customary song, sat upon a corpse which he kept unburied until it came to a state of dissolution, and then ate the flesh of it; this act they hold extremely meritorious. They say that the desires of this and of the other world attain their accomplishment by means of the worship of a god or of a goddess. The followers of this sect send their barren wives, in order that they may become pregnant, to the performers of such acts, and these men use the women before the eyes of their husbands: whoever does not send his wife to his master, renders in their opinion the purity of his faith very doubtful.

[1] This reminds us of the *Selli*, dwelling about Dodona, where Jupiter was adored, and, by whose spirit moved, they prophesied (ἀνιπτόποδες) "*with unwashed feet.*"—(*Hom*, *Iliad*, XVI. v. 235.)

The Gossain Tara lochana, a Brahman, was of this sect, and devoted to the worship of Káli, a female deity. Having gone to Kachmir in the year 1048 of the Hejira (1638 A. D.), he practised pious austerity; at last, as is usual, he chose a concubine, for which, they say, five things are requisite: fish, wine, the wife of another man, flesh (if human flesh so much the better) and a mantra, that is, a song. The Hindus used to distinguish fish from flesh. Finally, having accomplished the act of a Gosain, Tara lochana became the friend of Ahsen Ulla, named Zafer Khán ibne Khájá, Abul hasen Taramzi, who was the governor of Kachmir: this took place by the interest of the confidential servants of the lord's house, who were well disposed to be directed by a perfect Gósain. The said lord wished Taralochana to procure him victory over the Tibetans; the Gosain promised it to him, provided he should conform himself to his directions: Zafer Khan consented to it, and a convention was concluded between them. Tara lochana said: "Appoint a great number of "Lúlían who are never to separate from me, be- "cause in our religion the intercourse with these is "preferable to that with other women, on which "account they are entitled *Déva-Kanyá*, 'the daugh- "'ters of the gods;' my meal must never be destitute "of wine and other intoxicating liquors; to begin, "let a sheep be killed for me, and the necessaries

" and materials of repast be prepared." Zafer Khan did all the Gosain demanded: when he made his expedition to Tibet, he obtained a remarkable victory, and returned triumphant. At last, a disagreement took place between the Gosain and Zafer Khan; the former quitted the latter, who soon after, on account of a dispute between the Sonní and the Shiâh of Kachmir, lost his consideration, and being obliged to retire, went to Kabul; there Muhammed Tafer, one of his relations, gave him some fatal stabs with a poniard, in consequence of which he lay sick for some time. Soon after he lost his office and property, and remained long in Lahore without a situation. The author of this book saw in the year 1055 of the Hejira (1645 A. D.) in Gujerat, a district of the Panjab, Tara lochana, who told him " It was " on account of his difference with me that so " great a misfortune befel Zafer Khan." Urfi of Shiraz says:

" The bounty of the Eternal does not reject the unbeliever,
" Provided he acquire perfection in the adoration of his idol."

Shédosh, the son of Anosh declared: that, according to the explainers of the law, there must be observed in any pursuit a due relation and correspondence to the intended purpose: further, in the pursuit of a virtuous spirit, sanctity and purity are required; but in the pursuit of a base spirit, nothing of purity enters, and may be dispensed with. This

subject has been treated in the second section of the work thereupon.

The writer of this book saw in the same year, and in the place beforesaid of Guzerat, a man called Mahadéo, who at night was always sitting upon a dead body. I also saw Sadánand, of the same sect, who said to one of his disciples: "I wish to per-" form a rite, called the worship of the hair." The disciple brought his own daughter, and Sadánanda gazed at her hair, kissed her face, and in that way enjoyed her before the eyes of her father. I saw besides a person who brought his wife to him, saying: "I have no son in my house." It is the belief of this class that, if in such a manner any one has intercourse with a barren woman, she obtains whatever she desires; on that account, some of the women, at the moment of intimate junction, demand from the perfect man the gift of *mukt*, that is, union with God Almighty, and emancipation from this body. It was for that reason, that Sadánanda used the woman before the eyes of her husband. One day, Sadánanda sat in a burying place, naked, with one of his friends, and drank wine, when one of the orthodox Brahmans passed that way, and saw these men. The disciples said: "This Brah-" man will tell the people what he saw, and expose " us to ridicule." Sadánanda replied: "It does not " matter." When the Brahman came home, he died.

When in the year 1059 of the Hejira (1649 A. D.) the author of this work happened to be in the district of Kalinga, he saw in every village of this country the image of a god, or of a spirit called by some particular name, and each of these spirits is supposed to be the author of some sickness or misfortune, for the removing of which they offer their prayers to him. One of these spirits is *Anamberam;* and when a person gets a pimple, he brings an animal, commonly a domestic bird, to the chapel, and sacrifices it. In the work *Khálasa al hayat,* "the "essence of life," composed by Mulla Ahmed Tatvi, is stated, that upon the sepulchre of *Asefnívas,*[1] a sage of Greece, they used to sacrifice a bird, and they say that, in the book which treats of the ceremonies of pilgrimage to the before-named deities, three kinds of sacrifices are enumerated: agreeable perfumes, sweet cakes, and beverages; besides Mulla Ahmed Tatvi mentions in his work just before quoted, that *Herámes* (that is Idris)[2] has established fumigations and wine of grapes for the use of sacrifices.

[1] أسفنيوس. I am at a loss to find the true name of the Greek sage. In our days a class of Hindus, pursuant to an ante-brahminical worship, venerate spirits, called *Vetals,* to whom in sickness they make vows, to be paid on recovery. The votive offering is generally a cock, the same that the Greeks used to give to Æsculapius, when they thought their cure owing to his sanatory powers—(See the Journal of the A. R. S. of Great Britain and Ireland, No. IX. p. 194.)

[2] The prophet Enoch.

Among the great idols of the country of Kaling is *Gang-Durgá.*[1] They say, Ramachandra déo, one of their great Rájas, descendant of the celebrated family of Kas'yapa, ruled in Orissa. This Rája, having called a goldsmith, gave him the mass of gold which he demanded for making an image of Durga. The goldsmith, having carried the gold home, intended to form the goddess of copper and to purloin the gold, thinking that, as to break into pieces an idol is not permitted among the Hindus, he could keep the gold without fear of discovery. With this project he went to sleep. When he awoke, he saw that one half of the gold remained on the spot, and that the other half was formed into the image of Durgá; having carried this with the remaining gold to Ramachandra déo, and told the story, the Rája gave him the residue of gold, and carried the idol, in his house and in his travels, constantly with him. They say that, after the death of Kas'yapa the Great, Makandéo assembled under his sceptre the nations of this country, and that Vichnunath déo Sukra conquered the town Sri Kakul,[2] from the Rája Nanda. Ramchandra déo moved his army towards Sri Kakul,

[1] Perhaps ख दुर्गा *Kha Durga*, "the heavenly Durga."

[2] The names of the country of Kalinga and of the town Sri Kakul occur at p. 3 of this volume. The town now called Cicacole, in the northern Circars, once the capital of an extensive district, is situated in lat. 18° 21′ N., long. 83° 57′ E.

and took the fort; Vichnu-náth, being informed of it, marched against him; Ramchandra déo, unable to resist his force, fled; Ganga Durga was by her guardians thrown away in a village, from whence she fell into the hands of a Brahman, who flung her into the barn of a villager. This man, having taken her up, carried her to his house. The goddess appeared to him in a dream, and said: "Offer me in "sacrifice thy eldest son, and I will make thee Rája." After a certain time, the villager told this secret to Vishnu-náth déo, who, having taken the idol from him, gave him a horse ornamented with gold, and a magnificent dress, and carried the goddess to Naránya púr, his residence. As she demanded from him also the sacrifice of a man, Vichnu-náth déo killed every year one of the thieves and like sorts of men before her altar. After the death of Vichnu náth déo, his sons did the same. When Vikramajet déo, who descended from Vichna nath déo, was killed, and the country disturbed by insurrections, then Dasvent-ráu, who was one of the grand-children of Vichnu-náth déo, having taken up Durga, fled from fear of the army, commanded by Jalil ul Khader Tulají Khan Bég, to Márkúl. Bhúpati, the Rája of Márkul, being also afraid of the attack of the famous general, sent him the goddess Durga, on Monday, the ninth day of the month Rabish ul avel, of the year 1062 of the Hejira (September, 1651, A. D.).

The idol was of gold, in the form of a female, with limbs very well proportioned, four arms, in two of her right hands carrying a three-pointed pike, which the Hindus call *Trisúla*,[1] and with which the goddess was striking *Mahisha Asura*, a demon under the form of a buffalo; he was beneath her right foot; in another hand she had a white ball, and in the fourth, the chakra, or discus, which is a circular weapon peculiar to the Hindus; under her left foot was a lion, and beneath him a throne. When they weighed the image, they found it equal to four panchiri, measure of the Dekhan. Even now, they sacrifice in every village of the Kohistan of Nanda-púr, and country adjacent, a man of good family.

Another idol, called *Máveli*,[2] is in the town of Bister.[3] The belief of the people there is that, when an hostile army comes to attack them, the divinity, under the form of a woman selling vegetables, goes into the camp of the enemy, and whoever eats what she offers, dies; and during the night she appears like one of the public girls, and whoever finds her charming, and calls her, meets with death. They relate

[1] त्रिशूलं a trident, a three-pointed pike, or spear, especially the weapon of Síva.

[2] It is, perhaps, *Mahèsvari*.

[3] The name which I find nearest approaching to that above is *Bidzeegur*, a town in the province of Allahabad, lat. 24° 37′ N., long. 83° 10′ E., with a fort on a high and steep mountain in the midst of an unhealthy country.

many strange and wonderful things about her. When in the year of the Hejira 1069, A. D, 1658-9, the famous general Tavaljí Khan Beg besieged and took the fort Kot Bahar, which is stronger than the fort of Bister, there died so many men and beasts of various maladies and the particular effects of climate, that their number exceeds all computation; and this the inhabitants of the fort of Bister attributed to the power of the goddess.

There is another class of followers of Síva, that is, of Sáktían, whose creed is quite different from that just before stated: they never have intercourse with the wife of another; they drink no wine. The adorers of Síva are obliged to drink wine in the *Síva-ratra*,[1] which is a sacred night: because it is written in their books that they ought then to fill a cup with wine and to drink it; as, according to the rule of this sect, it is not a matter of choice to drink wine; many who cannot get it, having procured a draught of syrup, mix a little of a fermented liquor with it to render it like wine, and take it for such, calling it *pána*.[2]

Sri Kanta, a Kachmirian, is conversant with many sciences of the Hindus; he knows the sás-

[1] शिवरात्रि is a celebrated festival in honor of Síva, on the fourteenth of the moon's wane, or dark fortnight in Mágha (January, February).

[2] पान drinking in general.

tras, that is, the sástras of the Pandits, namely, the *Smriti sastra,*[1] or "the written law;" the *Kavi-sástra,*[2] "poetics;" the *Tarka-sástra,*[3] "logic and "dialectics;" the *Váidyá vidyá,*[4] "the medical sci-"ence;" the *Jyótisha,*[5] "astronomy;" and the *Pátanjala,*[6] that is, the restraining of the breath; he knows besides very well the Vedanta, or metaphysics, etc. In the year 1049 of the Hejira (1639 A. D.) the author of this book saw him in Kachmir; he is one of the saints of the Hindus. Sri Kant was invested by the inhabitant of heaven, Núr-ed-din Mahommed Jehangír Pádshah, with the dignity of a judge of the Hindus, in order that they may be tranquillised, and in every concern have nothing to demand from the Muselmans: as it has been established in the code of Akbar, that the tribes of mankind, high and low, with the existing diversity of creeds and difference of customs, which are all under the trust of a beneficent lord, ought to dwell in the shade of protection of a just king, and persevere in the performance of their worship and the

[1] स्मृतिशास्त्रं.

[2] कविशास्त्रं.

[3] तर्कशास्त्रं.

[4] वैद्यविद्या.

[5] ज्योतिषं mathematical, astronomical, and astrological science.

[6] पातञ्जलं. The Yoga-system of philosophy, from Patanjeli, the sage by whom it was first taught.

exigencies of their devotion, so that, by the authority derived from the chiefs, the sons of the age may not stretch the hand of oppression over the condition of the people.

The belief of the Hindus is as follows: all the *tírths*,[1] that is, "places of pilgrimage," which are in the world are in imitation of the fixed model *Hara-tírth*, which is in Kachmir; for, after having visited the holy place of Kachmir, there is no desire to see that of any other country; and they call it the great place of pilgrimage, likewise *prayága*,[2] which is celebrated at Máhábád; there are Shah abad ed-din púr, and Gangavara, Lárasún, and Kisâlíhazra. There are many miraculous things in Kachmir; one of them is *Sandebár*, and they relate: In ancient times, a holy Brahman dwelt in a cavern of the mountain, where he devoted himself to the worship of the Almighty God. Once every year, he went to the Ganges to bathe. After having passed several years in that way, Gangá said to the Brahman: "Thou measurest "always such a length of road, on which thou dost "set aside the worship of God: my convention with

[1] तीर्थ.

[2] प्रयाग signifies "sacrifice, oblation;" in composition it is applied to many places of reputed sanctity, situated at the confluence of two rivers, as *Déva-prayá'ga*, *Rudra-pra'yaga*, *Karna pra yaga*, and *Nanda-praya'ga*, in the Himála mountains, which with Prayága, or Allahabad, constitute the five principal places so termed—(*Wilson's Dict.*, *sub voce*).

" thee is this: that, when the sun reaches the con-
" stellation of the Bull, I will three times a-day come
" to thy resting-place." From this time, when the great luminary throws his effulgence towards the constellation of the Bull, the water of the river springs up boiling from the basin of the fountain, which is near the place of his devotion. *Sundeberari*, in the cavern of the mountain, became celebrated: it is a square basin, and has on its eastern wall an open cavity, from which, as well as from several other vents and holes in the sides of the basin, the water springs up. However steadfastly one may look, the bottom cannot be discovered. And in the middle of the eastern side, there are seven holes, which the people of Kachmir call *Saptarshi*,[1] " the seven Ri-
" shis;" on the northern side is an issue, which they call *dama bhaváni*;[2] when the world-illuminating sun begins to enter the constellation of the Bull, the water appears there in the following manner: it springs up first from the large cavity, then from the *Saptarshi*: so the Hindus call seven rakshasas, and give their name to the constellation of the Great Bear. Further, the water comes up from the *dama bhaváni*, that is " the mansion of *Bhaváni*, the wife
" of Mahadéo." When the cavity is filled, then the

[1] सप्तर्षि.

[2] दम भवानी *dama* signifies, in the Védas, " the hall of sacrifice."

water, passing over the borders, runs out; the Sanyásis and other Hindus, who had come from distant places, throw themselves into it, and the people who find no room, carry water from it. Afterwards, the ebullition declines in such a manner, that there remains not the least trace of the water. In this month the water boils up three times a-day, namely, in the morning, at mid-day, and in the afternoon, at the hour of prayer. After the lapse of this month, no more water is seen, until the sun enters again into the sign of the Bull.

"Certainly, every thing announces God,
"And offers the proof that there is but He."[1]

The historians of the times know Sandeberarí among the wonders described by the ancient learned men of Kachmir. The ignorant among the Muselmans of Kachmir say, that Sandeberari is the well of *Abu Ali*, and believe it to be the work of *shaikh Arrâis*; the truth is, that *Hajet ul hak* never came to Kachmir: as it is evident from the concurring testimony of history.

History of the illustrious Shaikh Abu Alí Hussain, the son of Abdullah Sina (God bless his grave!)[2]—

[1] This verse is taken from the Arabic work entitled "The Birds and "the Flowers," composed by Azz-ed-din Almoka dési, published with a translation and notes by M. Garcin de Tassy.—(See p. 8 of the text, and p. 131 of the notes).

[2] The merely cursory mention made of Abu Ali in the foregoing lines,

The father of Abu Alí was a native of the environs of Balkh, and his mother was Sitára. Abu Alí was born in the year 333 of the Hejira (944 A. D.) [1] When he had attained his eighteenth year, he was conversant with all the liberal sciences. They relate, that Amír Nuh, the son of Manzur Sámáni,[2] in a grave malady, when the doctors knew no remedy, was restored to health by the salutary power of the songs of Abu Ali. When the Sámánían were in distress, he directed himself towards Khórasan, the king of which country, Alí, the son of Mámun Massar, received Abu Ali with perfect favour. When

is sufficient for inducing the author to interpose between the Sactis and the Vaishnavas, the account of a man who neither belonged to the Hindus, nor professed their religion.

The name of this celebrated personage is *Abu Alí Husain Ben Abdallah, Ben Sina, Al Shaikh Al ra'is;* he is commonly called *Ibn Sina;* the Jews name him *Arabisans Aben Sina;* and the Christians *Avisenna.*

Herbelot gives an account nearly similar to that of the Dabistán, of the astonishing learning of Abu Alí and of his flight before the persecutions of the Sultan Mahmud, and the cure which the famous doctor performed upon the nephew of the king of Georgia.

[1] According to Abulfeda and other authors, he was born in the town of Bokhara, in 370 of the Hejira (980 A. D.).

[2] Mansur I, son of Abdelmalek, was the sixth king of the Samánís: this dynasty derived their name from Sámán, whose father is unknown. Sámán, a robber, had a son, Assad, who quitted the infamous profession of his father, and educated his sons in a manner which enabled them to rise to the highest dignities under the Khalif Al-Mamon and his successors. Ismâil, a grandson of Assad, founded the princely dynasty in Mavaralnahar (Transoxana), to which other provinces were annexed. Nine Samanian kings ruled from the year of the Hejira 261 to 388 (A. D. 874-998).

Abu Ali was accused before the Sultan Mahmud Sabak tegín,[1] of being opposed to the religion and creed of the ancient wise men, and when the Sultan showed a disposition to apprehend him, the Shaikh was alarmed and fled to Abyúverd; the satellites of the Sultan followed him with pictures and descriptions of his person, which were well drawn, and sent by the Sultan to all parts of the kingdom, in order that the magistrates and head men of office, by means of this picture might bring the fugitive before the Sultan. The Shaikh, informed of it, fled towards Jorjan (Georgia). By means of the remedies of the Shaikh, many sick were cured. Shamsen ul mâlí Kábús, the son of Vashamger,[2] had a nephew on his sister's side on a sick-bed, all the remedies applied by the physicians proved useless; by order of Kabus, they brought the Shaikh to the pillow of the sick; but, in spite of all his cares and observations, the learned physician could not discover the cause of his illness. The Shaikh said to himself: "This young man may be in love, and "from exceeding pudicity keep his secret unclosed."

[1] The first of the dynasty of the Ghasnavis. According to the author of Nighiaristan, quoted by Herbelot, Avisenna, when at the court of Mamon, king of Khorasan, was called by Mahmúd to his own capital; the refusal of the Shaikh to obey drew upon him Mahmud's persecutions.

[2] Kabus, a prince of the Dilámi dynasty, ruled in the provinces of Giorgian, Ghitan, Mazinderan, and Tabaristan, upon the western and southern shores of the Caspian sea.

On that account he ordered the names of all the places and towns to be written, and one after another to be read before the patient, whilst the Shaikh held his finger upon the pulse of the young man. When they pronounced the name of the abode of the beloved, the motion of the pulse of the enamoured was perceptible; the Shaikh ordered also the names of all the private houses to be read; at that of the object of his desires, the pulse of the desirous became disturbed; moreover they began to read the names of the inhabitants of the houses; when they arrived at that of his idol, the pulse of the adorer again beat higher. Mazheri of Kashmir says:

"The pulse of the loving beats higher, agitated only at the name of the "beloved."

Thus, the perfect science of Abu Alí found the true remedy: he said to one of the head men near Shams ul mâlí: "This young man is in love with "such a girl, in such a house, and there is no "remedy but the gratification of his desire." After trial, the truth of these words was found.[1]

When the Umras and the ministers of state withdrew from the obedience of Kábus, whom they impri-

[1] The sagacity of Avisenna can but remind us of that with which Eristratus, a disciple of Chrysippus and grandson of Aristotle, discovered the secret cause of the mortal malady of Antiochus, son of the Syrian king Seleucus: the young prince was in love with his stepmother, Stratonice. But Kabus, for preserving the life of his nephew, was subject to no personal sacrifice; Seleucus saved his son by the cession of his own wife.

soned, the Shaikh retired into the country. Some time after, he betook himself to Rái.[1] Majed-dóulah Abu Táleb Rustam, the son of Fakher ed dóulah Dalímí, the Hakim (governor) of Rái,[2] showed him great regard and honor; the Shaikh restored Majed ud-dóulah from the malady of melancholy to good health.

When Shams ed-dóulah made war upon Helál,[3] son of Bader, son of Hasnávíah, who came from the capital of the right faith (Mecca), he defeated the army of Bâghdad. The Shaikh went from Rái to Kazvín,[4] and from thence to Hamdan.[5] Shams ed-dóulah was cured of a colic by the remedies of the Shaikh, whom he then raised to the dignity of a Vizír. The chiefs of the army conspired against the life of Abu Alí; he fled, and remained concealed

[1] Rái is a town in Irak Ajemí, or Persian Irak.

[2] Majed-doulah, the eighth prince of the Búyí dynasty, reigned in Isfahan and in Persian Irak, during his minority under the tutelage of his mother, Seidát; at his majority he confided the vizirate to Avisenna, on which account an open war broke out between him and his mother. Seidát defeated and took in a battle, before the town of Rái, her son, and reassumed the government, but afterwards resigned it to him, satisfied to guide him by her counsels, much to his advantage, until her death; after which the weak prince delivered himself into the hands of his conqueror Mahmud Sabak tegin.

[3] Shams-ed-doulah (according to Herbelot, Samsameddulah), son of Adhadededdulat, was the tenth prince of the Búyi dynasty.

[4] Kazvin, a town in Persian Irak.

[5] Hamdan, a town in Persian Irak, to the west of Kazvin, about 450 miles N.W. of Isfahan.

during forty days. Meanwhile, the malady of Shams ed-doulah returned; the Shaikh, having come forth from his place of concealment, delivered the Sultan from his illness, and was again raised to the Vizirat. After the death of Shams ed-doulah, the throne was filled by Bahá ed-dóulah, the son of Táj ed dóulah.[1] The Umrahs requested Abu Alí to accept the Vizírat, but he refused his consent. About this time, Alá-ded-dóulah, the son of Jâfer Kakyuah,[2] sent from Is fahan an invitation to the venerable Shaikh to join him; but the Shaikh declined to come, and concealed himself in the house of Abu Táleb, a dealer in perfumes. Without the example of any other work before his eyes, he composed his work, entitled *Shafá*, "remedy," treating the whole of physics and metaphysics.[3]

Tájed doulah, having assumed the name of Ala-ved-dóulah, kept the Shaikh, by this assumption, employed in a continual succession of affairs. When Alawed dóulah conquered the country of Tájed ud

[1] Herbelot states Baha-ed-Doulah to be son of Adhad-doulat, and brother of Samsameddulat.

[2] Herbelot says, that Abu Alí entitled his great work *Canun fil thebi*, "Rule of Medicine;" this book has been abridged and commented by Said Ben Hebatallah, by Razi Ben al Khatib, and by another author, who has composed the *Mugiaz fil theb*.

[3] We read in Abulfeda's history (vol. III. p. 64): "In the year of the Hejira 414, A. D. 1023, Ala-ed-daula Abu Jafar, commonly called son of Kakuyah, took Hamdam from one of the Búyís, say Sama-ed-doulah Abúl Hasan, son of Shams-ed-Doulah.

dóulah, he brought the Shaikh to Isfahán.[1] Towards the end of his life, a disease of the bowels seized the Shaikh, and gained strength, on account of his active life in the service of Alawed dóulah, and of the expeditions of his enemies. The patient was carried in a covered chair. When Aladed-dóulah came to Hamdán, the Shaikh felt that nature had exhausted her strength, and could not resist the force of the malady; on that account, having desisted from applying any remedy, he took a bath, and having distributed his property in alms to the poor, the indigent, and the necessitous, he turned his mind to God and the elect of the divinity; at last, on a Friday, in the month of Ramzán, of the year 427 of the Hejira (1035 A. D.), he passed from this deceitful world to the residence of happiness.[2] A great man said:

"From the globe of black clay to the summit of Venus,
"I traversed all the difficulties of the world;
"Every tie which was fastened around me, on account of deceit and
"illusion,
"Was loosened—except that of death."

[1] The biography of Avisenna involves a variety of events which cannot be here sufficiently developed for removing the obscurity attending the short account of our author. The name of Tájet-ud-doualh is not found in Abulfeda's and Herbelot's notice of the Shaikh Avisenna.

[2] Adopting as true the year of his birth, as stated in the Dabistán (see p. 169), Abu Ali, according to the above date of his death, would have died in his ninety-first year. According to Abulfeda (see vol. III. p. 92), he died in his fifty-eighth year; Herbelot says, he died in the year of the Hejira 428, A. D. 1036, in the fifty-sixth year of his life.

The extraordinary and astonishing actions performed by Abu Alí have been described in the book about the application of remedies in several histories,[1] few of which are reproduced in these pages; and so much only with the intention to prove shortly to the candid reader, that Shaikh Abu Alí never came to Kachmir, about which intelligent and ingenious men in all countries agree.

"There is no house which may not be the house of God."

SECTION THE EIGHTH: OF THE VICHNUIAN (VAISHNAVAS) WORSHIPPERS OF VICHNU.—Vichnu, who, according to the belief of the followers of the Smriti, is a subordinate divinity, is held by the Vichnuian to be the preserver of all things. The Vedantían maintain him to possess the qualities of virtue and of order, and to be the lord of the five senses; not subject however to the said senses, nor to their influence in any way. According to the Vichnuían, he is the first cause and author of the universe; they believe him endowed with a body, like mankind; he has a wife. Brahma, a deity, is the creator of things; and

[1] Herbelot says that Avisenna wrote his biography himself; the French author mentions a life of the celebrated Muhammedan doctor, composed by doctor Giorgiani.

Mahádéo, another divinity, the annihilator of beings; both are creators of Vichnu, and distinct from his holy being, because the path of union is closed between the creature and the creator; they say, that every body has a soul, but that the soul is not distinct from, but a part of, the body; the body has two forms, the male and female, and the creator and author of their being is the holy nature of Vichnu; the body is composed of five elements; men, conformably with their actions and works, are invested either with animal or human forms; the soul is always confined in the gaol of ignorance and in the fetters of avidity. Further, the spirits are divided according to three qualities, which are: 1. *sattvam*; 2. *rájas*; and 3. *tamas*: the explanation of these three qualities has been before given. The *Satya* (virtuous) tends towards *mukt*, that is, "emancipation;" for by the power of this laudable quality, he makes the *bakhti*, that is, "the worship of "Vichnu," his pursuit; and this *bakhti* raises him to the highest state, that is, to that of "emancipation;" according to the interpretation of this sect, *mukt* consists in this: that, after having left the *sthúla sarira*,[1] or "elementary body," and the *linga sarira*,[2] that

[1] स्थूलशरीर.

[2] लिङ्गशरीर called also सूक्ष्मशरीर *sukshma sarira*, or "subtile body.

It is essential to know the exact meaning which the Hindus attach to the three words, *linga*, *linga s'arira*, and *sthula s'arira*.

is, "the visional body," which has fallen into a vision of appearances, and after having been transformed into the primitive shape, which is either male or

I must premise that, according to them, the soul is incased as in a sheath, or rather in a succession of sheaths. The first, or inner case, is *the intellectual one:* it is composed of the pure, or simple, elements, uncombined, the archetypes of elementary matter (तन्मात्र *tanmatra*), and consists of the intellect (*buddhi*), joined with the five senses. The next is the *mental sheath,* in which mind is joined with the preceding. A third sheath comprises the organs of action and the vital faculties, and is termed the *organic* or *vital case.*

These three sheaths (कोषा: *ko'shas*) constitute the subtile frame, *sukshma s'arîra,* or *linga-s'arîra,* "the rudimental body which attends "the soul in its transmigration."

Linga is "the naked rudiment;" the word expresses "designating, "apprising," synonimous with "characteristic," rendered also by "mer- "gent," and by "subtile." The linga and linga-s'arîra are ordinarily, though perhaps not properly, confounded, the linga consisting of thirteen component parts, namely (see the table of categories, p. 122): of intellect, egotism, and the eleven organs; whilst the linga-s'arîra adds to these a bodily frame, made up of the five rudimental elements. In this form however they always coexist; and it is not necessary to consider them as distinct.

The "gross body," *sthu'la s'arîra,* is composed of the coarse elements, formed by the combination of the simple elements in a particular proportion, which the Hindus determine with an acuteness, their own (see *Vedanta sara,* edit. of Calc., p. 11), but which is not necessary here to adduce. This exterior case, composed of elements so combined, is the "nutrimentitious sheath," and being the scene of coarse fruition, is therefore termed "the gross body." This is however animated from birth to death, in any step of its transmigration, by the interior rudiment confined to the first-mentioned inner case, which is called कारणशरीर *ka'ran'a-s'arîra,* "the causal frame"—(See Colebrooke on the Phil. of the Hindus in the Transact. of the R. A. Soc., Vol. II. Part I. pp. 35, 36, etc., and *Sankhya Karika,* p. 129).

female, one enters the *Váikunt*,[1] that is, "the heaven "of beatitude of the Gods," and the mansion of real life. *Rájas*, that is, the possessor of this quality, is liable to recompense or punishment; to the consequence of virtue or crime, according to an impartial appreciation of both. Now he holds the price of virtue, another time that of crime; and conformably to his merits or demerits, he migrates invested with a body, and for reward is associated with the blessed, or for punishment suffers with the damned. Whoever does not, from the circle of the world, reach the shore of those who are united with salvation, he shall certainly never attain to the state of the desired emancipation. *Tamas*, that is, the possessor of this quality, is an adversary to *mukt*, and an enemy to liberation; his present and future condition is this: that, having left the *sthúla sarira*, that is, "his elemental body," and the *linga purusha*,[2] or "his visional body," and having returned to his primitive form, either male or female, he will be tormented in the world of darkness, which they call

[1] वैकुण्ठं is the Paradise, or world of Vichnu; its site is variously described, either as in the northern ocean, or on the eastern peak of Meru.

[2] Here the same as linga sárira. Parusha means generally "a subtile body;" it is unconfined, too subtile for restraint, hence termed आतिवाहिक *ativá hika*, "surpassing the wind in swiftness," incapable of enjoyment until it be invested with a grosser body, affected, nevertheless, by sensations.

andhatamasa;[1] from this place of manifold torments he never returns. This is the substance of the creed of the worshippers of Vichnu, called *Madhu Achâris*.[2]

The belief of another sect of the Vichnavas, called

[1] अन्धतमसं "great darkness."

Without entering here into the details of metaphysical refinements which the Hindus exhibit in their various systems of philosophy, we may content ourselves to state that, in general, they adopt two kinds of bodies or persons, a subtile, and a substantial or grosser one. The first transmigrates through successive bodies, which it assumes as a mimic shifts his disguises to represent various characters. In the Bhagavad gita, it is intimated, that soul retains the senses and mind in the intervals of migration: "At the time that spirit obtains a body, and when it abandons "one, it migrates, taking with it those senses, as the wind wafts along "with it the perfumes of the flowers." The grosser body, propagated by generation, is perishable. According to Manu (XII. 16): "After "death, another body, composed of the five rudimental elements, is "immediately produced, for wicked men, that they may suffer the tor-"tures of the infernal regions." This concords with what is said above.

[2] They are also called *Brahma Sampradâyis*. The founder of this sect was Madhwâcharya, a Brahman, born in the Saka-year 1121 (A. D. 1199), in Tuluva, on the western coast of the Indian peninsula; he died in his seventy-ninth year. He was early initiated into the order of Anchorets, and devoted to Vichnu; he composed thirty-seven works, built eight temples, and founded as many *maths*, or "monasteries" of his particular sect, which is one of the four great sects. The superiors, or "Gurus" of it are Brahmans and Sanyâsis; their lay-votaries are members of every class of society except the lowest; they profess perpetual celibacy. These sectaries reside now chiefly in the peninsula, and are altogether unknown in Gangetic Hindostan. To what is above said of their doctrine, I shall add, that they distinguish the principle of life from the supreme Being, or they deny the absolute unity of the Deity, and the possibility of absorption into the universal spirit, and the loss of independent existence after death.—(See an explicit account of this sect, by Professor Wilson, *As. Res.*, vol. XVI. p. 100–108.)

Rámánandis,[1] is in substance as follows: the quality of *Satwa* tends towards the attainment of the high state of *mukt*, or "emancipation;" the way of acquiring it is, to lay aside all praises of another divinity; to abstain from the rites of any other sect; and to shun any other worship except that of the holy being of Vichnu, to whom alone all thoughts, all prayers, are to be directed, and whose remembrance is always to be kept. In the same manner as it is not permitted to a husband to desire the wife of another, in the same way they hold it wrong to think of any

[1] Rámánanda, the founder of this sect, lived about the end of the 13th century, according to some accounts; Professor Wilson is disposed to place him not farther back than the end of the 14th, or beginning of the 15th century. His residence was at Benares, in a *math*, or "monastery." The especial object of the worship of the Rámánandis is Vichnu, in his incarnation of *Rámachandra*, on which account they are called *Rámawats*. The mendicant members of this sect, numerous even in our days, are usually known as Vâîragis or Viraktas, and consider all form of adoration superfluous beyond the incessant invocation of Krichna and Rama. The school of Rámánand admits disciples of every caste; it abrogates, in fact, the distinction of caste amongst the religious orders: this seems the proper import of the term *Avadhuta*, which Rámánanda affixed to his followers. It does not appear that any work exists attributed to Rámánand himself; those of his followers are written in the provincial dialects. The ascetic and mendicant followers of Ramánand are by far the most numerous class of sectaries in Gangetic India; some of them acquired a great celebrity; among these are reckoned *Kabir*, of whom hereafter, and *Jayadiva*, the author of the beautiful poem *Gita govinda*, well known by the translations made of it into English, by Sir W. Jones; into Latin, by Professor Lassen (who places however Jayadéva in the year 1150); and into German, in the metre of the original, by Mr. Ruckert. —(See, on the Rámánandis, the work quoted, pp. 36-52).

other deity but of Vichnu. The difference between the beforesaid and this sect is, that the former associates to the worship of Vichnu that of other angels, of the creatures, servants, and companions of this God, which they maintain as meritorious, and perform with magnificence; whilst the latter sect considers the other deities as deformed and hideous.

The characteristical mark of the Rámánandis is a triangle drawn upon their forehead;[1] they never eat their meal before persons of another sect. The *Madhu Achárís*[2] wear two short strokes of red clay near each other upon the forehead; they do not associate with persons of another creed, but they eat before Brahmans who are not of their own persuasion.

A third sect is that of the *Harbayántis*.[3] They drink

[1] According to Professor Wilson (work quoted, pp. 32 and 43), the marks of the Rámánandis are two perpendicular white lines, drawn from the root of the hair to the commencement of each eyebrow, and a transverse streak connecting them across the root of the nose; in the centre is a perpendicular streak of varied colours, besides other marks on the breast and each upper arm.

[2] The marks of the Madhwácharis, according to the same authority (p. 103), are the impress of the symbols of Vichnu upon their shoulders and breasts, stamped with a hot iron, and the frontal mark, which consists of two perpendicular lines, made with *Gopi chandana*, or the sacred clay from Dwaraka, the city of Krichna, and joined at the root of the nose; a straight black line is drawn down the centre with the charcoal from the incense offered to Nárayana, terminating in a round mark with turmeric.

[3] This name, perhaps very corrupted, is not to be found among those

with Brahmans of another persuasion from the same cup, and wear a circle as a mark on their foreheads.

A fourth sect is that of the *Rádhá-Vallábhis*;[1] these are bound by nothing; they observe no fast on the eleventh day of the month; they deliver their wives to the disposition of their preceptors and masters, and hold this praiseworthy.

In Hindostan it is known that whoever abstains from eating meat and hurting living animals, is

enumerated in Professor Wilson's Treatise on the Religious Sects of the Hindus.

[1] See the work quoted, p. 125–129. The members of this sect consider a teacher named Hari Vans as their founder. This person settled at Vrindavan, and established a math, or "convent," there, which exists to our days, and in 1822 comprised between forty and fifty resident ascetics. He also erected a temple there that still exists, and indicates by an inscription over the door that it was dedicated to Sri Rádhá Vallabha by Hari Vans, Samvat 1641, or A. D. 1585. Rádha, the favourite mistress of Krishna, is the object of adoration to these sectaries, who worship Krishna as *Rádhá-Vallabah*, "the lord or lover of Rádhá," whose adoration Mr. Wilson thinks an undoubted innovation in the Hindu creed. He says (*ibid.*, p. 125): "The only Rádhá that is named in the Mahábharat is a very different personage, being the wife of Duryodhana's charioteer, and the nurse of Karna. Even the Bhagavat makes no particular mention of her amongst the Gopis of Vrindhavan, and we must look to the Brahma Váivarta Purána (Krishna Janana Khanda) as the chief authority of a classical character, on which the pretensions of Rádhá are founded." We know the difference of opinion which exists among the Indianists about the antiquity to be attributed to the Puranas, and which has not yet found a positive decision. It is probably from the last mentioned Puráná that Jayadéva (see note, p. 180) took the theme, of his admirable poem, in which the love of Krichna and Rádhá is described in the most glowing colours.

esteemed a Vaishnava, without regard to the doctrine beforesaid. Some of them take the name of Rama, who is also a manifestation of Vichnu; others choose the title of Kishen (Krichna), another incarnation of Vichnu. The reputation of continence and purity prevails in favor of those who are called after Rama; whilst those who take their title from Krishna are ill-famed for sensuality and libidinousness. It happened one day that a worshipper of Rama met with an adorer of Krishna; the former repeated perpetually "Ram, Ram;" the latter was occupied with the praise of Krichna, to whom the worshipper of Rama said: "Why dost thou repeat without end the name "of a man who was devoted to sensuality, the name "of Krichna?" He answered: "Because this name "is better than that of a man who knew not even "how to be certain of the honor of one woman." This was said in allusion to Râma's having banished his wife, named Sitâ, at the end of the fire-ordeal which she underwent to prove her purity.[1] Some

[1] Rama, obliged to cede the throne to his brother Bharatta, having on that account been banished by his father, lived with his wife Sitá, and his younger brother Lakshmana upon the mountain Chitra Kotá, in Bundelkand, whence he descended towards the south into the woods of Dandakam. Every where he protected the Rishis, destroying their enemies, the Rakshasas. The head of these was Rávaná, king of Lanka (Ceylon), who, in order to take revenge of Rama, carried away by a successful stratagem, Ráma's beloved consort, Sitá. The unfortunate husband, to release his wife, concluded an alliance with Hanuman and Sugriva, chiefs of the savage inhabitants, called monkies, of southern India, and

of the pious of this sect eat no sort of turnips or carrots which in eating, by taste or color, may remind of flesh. The writer of this work heard from Hansa rádja, a Brahman, that it is written in ancient books of this class, that Brahmans used to fly in the air and to walk upon the water, when, on account of having polluted their lips by eating flesh, they lost this power. As the Vairágis, too, profess to be Váishnavas, I will treat of them in the following article.

Of the Vaira'gis.—*Virág* is in the dictionary interpreted "aspiring."[1] This sect renounces the world; their liturgy is in verse, and comprehends the worship of Vichnu and his incarnations, as Rama, Krichna, and the like, and these verses they call *Vichnu padam*. They make pilgrimages to the holy places dedicated to Vichnu, and wear around their necks rosaries of *tutasi*,[2] which they call *malá-tulasi*. Tulasí is an Indian

by their aid passed over to the island, took its capital, Lanka, and killed the tyrant, Rávan'a, in a battle. Sitá was released, but, for proving her purity preserved, she underwent the ordeal of fire: it proved satisfactory; her innocence was manifest to the multitude, but, it appears, not quite so to the mind of her husband, who separated from her.

[1] This is not correct: विराग *virag'ya*, is interpreted "the absence of "desire or passion; the disregard of all sensual enjoyments, either in "this or the next world."

[2] तुलसी *Tulasi'*, a small shrub held in veneration by the Hindus, "holy basil" (*ocymum sanctum*—*W.*).

shrub. Whoever among the Hindus, Muselmans, or others, wishes, is received into their religion; none are rejected, but, on the contrary, all are invited. It is said that some Muselmans also worship Vichnu, because in "*Bismilla,*" they confound *Bisem* with *Bishen* (or Vichnu), and most of them agree about the purity and infinity of Vichnu's being; in truth, they think he is incorporeal; the spirits proceed like rays from the light of his being, and all bodies from the shadow of his existence; but they say that when he wills he shows himself, as it happened, with four arms, and they agree about his having manifested himself in ten incarnations. They abstain from eating flesh. They are divided into four classes: *Rámánujas*, *Nimánujas*, *Madhuachárís*, and *Radha Vallabhis*, as before said:[1]

[1] This is not quite exact: for the author has not yet mentioned the *Ramanujas*, nor the *Nimanujas*, of whom he says nothing hereafter.

Rámánuja Acharya was born at Perumbar, in the south of India, about the end of the 11th century; his fame as a teacher was established about the first half of the 12th century; he was a great supporter and propagator, nay, the chief author, of the later Váishnava faith; he founded 700 maths, or "convents," of which four only remain; but other establishments of this sect are still numerous in the Dekhan.

The worship of the followers of Rámánuja is addressed to Vichnu and to Lakchmi, his wife, and to their respective incarnations, either singly or conjointly; wherefore they are also named Srí Váichnavas, consisting of several subdivisions. The chief religious tenet of the Rámánujas is the assertion that Vichnu is Brahma; that he was before all worlds, and was the cause and the creator of all. They maintain three predicates of the universe comprehending the deity: it consists of *chit*, "spirit;" *achit*, "matter;" and *Is'wa'ra*, "God."

These sectaries are not allowed to eat in cotton garments, but, having

these four classes they call *chár sampardá* (*sampradáya*).[1]

Kabir,[2] a weaver by birth, celebrated among those

bathed, must put on woollen or silk, and their meal, whilst they are eating, must not attract the eyes of a stranger, or it becomes instantly spoiled, and should be buried in the ground. The marks of the Rámánujas are the same as those of the Rámánandis, before described (see note, p. 181), excepting that the central perpendicular streak on the forehead is red, made with red sanders or roli, a preparation of turmeric and lime. Besides other marks on their bodies, not enumerated here, they wear a necklace of the wood of tulasi, and carry a rosary of the seeds of the same plant, or of the lotus — (See, for a further account of this sect, the work quoted, pp. 27–36).

[1] सम्प्रदाय a sect, a schism, a particular doctrine, and exclusive worship of one divinity.

[2] The most celebrated of the twelve distinguished disciples of Rámánandra (see note, p. 180) was *Kabir*. I omit the miraculous circumstances of his birth. He was taken up near Benares, a foundling, by the wife of a weaver, named *Nima'*, and brought up by her and her husband *Nuri*. Such is the uncertainty prevailing about Kabir's time, that he is placed by different authors within the space of not less than three centuries, that is, from 1149 to 1449. According to Professor Wilson, he flourished probably about the beginning of the 15th century. The philosophic and religious notions of the Kabir Panthir are in substance the same as those of the Pauranic sects, especially of the Váichnava division. They admit but one God, the creator of the world, and, in opposition to the Vedanta notions of the absence of every quality and form in him, they assert that he has a body formed of the five elements of matter, and that he is endowed with the three *gunas*, or qualities of being, of course of ineffable power and perfection.

The works attributed to Kabir himself, or to his disciples, are written in the usual form of Hindi verse; twenty of them are enumerated in Professor Wilson's account of this sect (pp. 58 and 59), and appear very voluminous.

This sect is very widely diffused in India, and split into a variety of subdivisions. At a great meeting near Benáres, no fewer than 35,000

Hindus who professed their belief in the unity of God, was a Váiragi. They say that, at the time when he was in search of a spiritual guide, he visited the best of the Muselmans and Hindus, but did not find what he sought. At last, somebody gave him direction to an old man of bright genius, the Brahman Rámánanda. This sage never saw the face of a Muselman, nor of any other religionist. Kabir, knowing that Rámánand would not converse with a weaver, dug a hole upon the accustomed road of the Brahman, and placed himself therein. Towards the night Rámánand used to go to bathe on the border of a river, and at the time when, to wash his body and purify his soul with the water of sanctity, he bent his steps towards a house of prayer, he arrived on the border of the hole made by Kabir, who, coming forth, clasped the feet of Rámánanda. As the Brahman harboured in his mind no other thought but that of God the highest, under the name of Rámá, he called out: "Rám!" When Kabir heard "Rám" from the tongue of Rámánand, he withdrew his hands from the Brahman's feet, and ceased not to

Kabir-Panthis of the monastic and mendicant class are said to have been collected. A place called "the Kabir Cháura," at Benares, is an establishment pre-eminent in dignity, and constantly visited by wandering members of this sect, as well as by those of other kindred heresies: its *Mahant*, or Superior, receives and feeds these visitors whilst they stay; the establishment itself is supported by the occasional donations of its lay-friends and followers - (See the work quoted, pp. 53-75).

repeat the word " Rám, Rám!" so that no other object but that was hovering before his eyes, as before those of Rámánanda; and he discoursed about the unity of God in sublime speeches, such as are heard only from the most learned men. Kabir, having acquired reputation, people said to Rámánand: " There is a weaver in this town who wishes " to be your disciple; it is to be regretted that you " cannot be connected with a weaver, who is a man " of a low caste." Rámánand answered: " Call him " to me," which was done. When Kabir's eye fell upon that of Rámánanda, the former exclaimed: " Rám, Rám!" the latter repeated " Rám, Rám!" and clasped Kabir fast in his arms, to the great astonishment and wonder of the people around, who asked the reason of such a favor. Rámánand replied: " Now Kabir is a Brahman, because he " knows Brahma, that is, the supreme Being."

It is said, that a class of learned Brahmans, sitting on the border of the river Ganga, praised its water, because it washes away all sins. Whilst so speaking, one of the Brahmans wanted water; Kabir, who had heard their speeches, jumped up from his place, and having filled a wooden cup which he carried with water, brought it to the Brahman. Kabir, a weaver by birth, being of a low caste, from the hands of whom Brahmans can neither eat nor drink, the water was not accepted, upon which Kabir observed:

" You have just now declared, that the water of the " Ganga purifies the body and the soul from the " pollution of sins, and from the foulness of evil ac- " tions, and makes them all disappear; but if this " water does not render pure this wooden vase, it " certainly does not deserve your praises."

Among the Hindus it is an establised custom to bring flowers to God at the time of worship. One day Kabir saw a gardener's wife who collected flowers for the image of a deity; he said to her: " In the " leaves of the flower lives the soul of vegetation, " and the idol to whom thou offerest flowers is with- " out feeling, dead, without consciousness, in the " sleep of inertness, and has no life; the condition " of the vegetable is superior to that of the mineral. " If the idol possessed a soul, he would chastise the " cutter, who, when dividing the matter of which " the image is formed, placed his foot upon the " idol's breast: go, and venerate a wise, intelli- " gent, and perfect man, who is a manifestation of " Vichnu."

Kabir showed always great regard for the Fakírs. One day, a number of Durvishes came to him; he received them with respect in his house; as he possessed nothing to show his generosity and munificence to them, he went from door to door to procure something, but having found nothing, he said to his wife: " Hast thou no friend from whom thou mayst

borrow something?" She answered: "There is "a grocer in this street who threw an eye of bad "desire upon me; would I from this sinner demand "something, I should obtain it." Kabir said: "Go "immediately to him, grant him what he desires, "and bring something for the durvishes." The woman went to the lewd grocer, and requested the loan of what she required; he replied: "If thou "comest this night to me, thy request is granted;" the woman consented, and swore the oath which he imposed upon her to come; after which the grocer gave her rice, oil, and whatever these men might like. When the Fakírs, well satisfied, went to rest, a heavy rain began to fall, and the woman wished to break her engagement; but Kabir, in order to keep her true to her word, having taken her upon his shoulder, carried her in the dark and rainy night, through the deep mud, to the shop of the bad grocer, and placed himself there in a corner. When the woman had entered into the interior part of the house, and the man found her feet unsullied, he said to her: "How didst thou arrive without thy "feet being dirty?" The woman concealed the fact. The grocer conjured her by the holy name of God to reveal the truth; the woman, unable to refuse, said what had taken place. The grocer, on hearing this, shrieked and was senseless. When he had recovered his senses, he ran out and threw himself at

Kabir's feet. Afterwards, having distributed among the poor whatever he had in his shop, he became a Virágí. Shaikh Mahmud said:

"When lust seizes the heart of man, God now and then renders vain
"his intent."

It is said that when Kabir left his elemental body, the Muselmans assembled in order to give him a burial, because they supposed him to have been of the right faith; and the Hindus too crowded in order to burn his body, because they thought him to have professed their religion. At last a Fakír stept in the midst of them, and said: "Kabir was a holy "man, independent of both religions; but having "during his life satisfied you, he will also, after "death, meet with your approbation." Having then opened the door, they did not find Kabir's body, and both parties remained astonished and bewildered.

"O friend, live so that, after thy death,
"Thy friends may bite their finger (from joyous astonishment)."

In Jagernath, at the place where they burn the dead, is the form and simulacre of a tomb which they call Kabir's.[1]

[1] According to Professor Wilson's account (pp. 56–57), in the midst of the dispute respecting the disposal of his corpse, Kabir himself appeared amongst them, and having desired them to look under the cloth supposed to cover his mortal remains, immediately vanished; on obeying his instructions, they found nothing under the cloth but a heap of flowers; one half of them the Hindus burnt in Benáres, and deposited the ashes in a spot now called *Kabir Chaura*, whilst the Muselmans erected a tomb over the other portion at *Magar*, near Gorakhpur, where Kabir died.

" Live so with good and bad that, after thy death,
" The Muselman may wish to bury, and the Hindu to burn thee (according
" to their rites)."

Another of the celebrated Virágis was *Dáyú*. One day, when Brahmans and Bánians (that is, traders) were assembled in a temple of Vichnu, they drove Dáyú out of it, as not worthy of being among their congregation. Dáyú, having gone out, sat down at the back of the temple, which soon after turned about towards the side where Dáyú was.

Perah Káivan, a Yezdánian, is one of the accomplished saints, and shows himself in the dress of every sect. When in that of a Vairági, he was in Guzerat for the sake of a pleasure-walk, he saw some of the Váirágis who came from a place of pilgrimage, and had a mark impressed upon their hand and arm: because, whoever makes a pilgrimage to the holy place of Krichna, gets the form of the God's weapon (the diskus) imprinted upon his body by means of a hot iron. Kaivan Perah said to the Vairágis: " Why this wound?" they answered: " This " is the mark of Vichnu; whoever has it is by the " God recognised as being his." Kaivan Perah observed: " When the soul is separated from the " body, they burn the corpse; no mark of it re- " mains; whilst the soul is not perishable, and has " no mark: how will then Vichnu recognise it?"— When he came to Ahmed-abad, which is the capital

of Guzerat, he saw a crier who, from the top of a mosque, chanted his prayer; when he had come down, Káivan Perah asked him: "Hast thou re- "ceived an answer?" the crier said: "From whom?" Kaivan replied: "From him to whom thou hast "been calling." Lubhaní says:

"They call loud to God seeking him,
"This people think him, perhaps, to be far off."

When he came to the harbour of Surat, which is one of the principal ports of Hindostán, he met with a Háji (a pilgrim from Mecca) who had come by sea to the harbour; Kaiván Perah asked him: "Whence "dost thou come?" He answered: "From the "house of God." Kaiván said further: "Hast "thou seen God?" The reply was "No." He was "perhaps not at home," rejoined Kaiván, and the Háji remained astonished.

The Vairágis are not devoted to a particular worship; they say, the name of Vishnu suffices for the acquisition of *mukt*, or "the union with God." This sect was formed during the Káli yúg, and call themselves also Váichnavas: they renounce the world, and say: "Our way is opposite to that of the Vêdas "and of the Koran: that is, we have nothing to do "either with Muselmans or Hindus." A great number of Muselmans adopted their creed, such as Mirza Salah, and Mirza Háider, two noble Muselmans who became Vaíragis. Of this sect was *Naráin*

Dási, who sided with *Rámánandis*, which is one of the *Sampradayas*, that is the first of the four classes before mentioned. The author of this book saw him in the year 1052 of the Hejira (1642 A. D.) in Lahore. He was one of those who are freed from the affections of the world; he honored whomever he saw, and said: "Every body belongs to the "divinity; that is, every body is the house of God."

"Without thee there is nothing that is in the world:
"From thyself demand whatever thou wishest: for it is thyself."

Píránah Kohely was of the sect of Vairagis, and Kohelí is a tribe of Kshatriyas; he withdrew from all the affections and troubles of the world. Having left the Guzerat of Panjab, which is his native place and the seat of his ancestors, he went to Vizírábád, a city built by Hakím Ilam eddín, named *Buzín khan*, and chose to settle not far from the above mentioned Guzerat. He had no faith in pious austerity. He said, the saints are men who, in a former existence, have brought affliction upon other men, and on that account do penance in this world; every pious act joined to some austerity is a requital of their deeds; those who are fasting have, in a former state, let hunger and thirst afflict the low and feeble; those who watch at night have, in his opinion, prevented the servants from sleeping; the Sanyásis, called Thádéser, who remain years standing upon

one leg, he thinks to be a class of spirits who have not permitted the servants to sit down; and those who suspend themselves, and others who perform their devotion in an inverted or strained posture, are a class who used to suspend their inferiors; and those who visit celebrated places and sacred mansions of pilgrimage, are a set who, for trifling reasons, have without pity sent about couriers to different places, without paying them their hire; the *játis*,[1] that is, those who abstain from intercourse with women, and from sensual indulgence, are an order of spirits, who have not provided for their sons and daughters the subsistence and furniture requisite for the marriage state, and prohibited to them this enjoyment, for which reason they now are subjected to retaliating penance.

This sect do no harm to any living being; which is common to all Vairágis, as well as to neglect devotion; but, in opposition to the creed of the Vairágis, they do not admit the *Avatars*, and say that God is exempt from transmigration and union; and, according to those who profess the belief in the unity and solitariness of the supreme being, he is not suscep-

[1] In Sanskrit यति *yati*, called also *Séwras*; they are a body of pious mendicants, who live in celibacy, and in general employ their time in the cultivation of medicine, astrology, and divinity—(See *On the Jainas of Guzerat and Marwar*, by Lieut.-Col. W. Miles. Transact. R. A. Soc., vol. III. p. 335).

tible of (what we call) intimate friendship. Being asked about the history of Krichna, Píránah said: "He was a Rája, devoted to licentiousness, and "oppressing mankind." The writer of these pages saw Píranah in the year 1050 of the Hejira (1640 A. D.), in Vizirábád, and in the same year and in the same place he saw Ananta, who was of the same creed as Píránah, but particularly addicted to the belief of the singleness of God.

Ananta did not advise abstinence to the sick. One of his friends being attacked by a diarrhœa, Ananta gave him substantial and sweet food, until he left this elemental body. One of his disciples wanted to have a vein opened; Ananda, having been informed of it, expressed himself strongly against this operation and prevented it. Thus, the author of these pages saw, in the year of the Hejira 1050 (A. D. 1640) in Guzerat of the Panjab, another of this sect, called *Mían Lál*, who was venerated by a great number of his sectaries; he abstained from eating any sort of animal food, and showed politeness to every body; like Píránah, he never cleansed his patched garment from vermin, and used to say: "These insects have "an assignment for their daily subsistence written "upon my body." Váirágis are also called *Mundís*;[1] because they shave four parts of their bodies, and one shaved is called *Mundí*.[1] There arose a dis-

[1] मुण्ड shaved, bald.

sension between this sect and the Sanyásis; in the year 1050 of the Hejira (1640 A. D.) a battle was fought at Hardwar,[1] which is a holy place of the Hindus, between the Mundís and the Sanyásis, in which the latter were victorious and killed a great number of the Mundís: these men threw away their rosaries of Tulasi wood which they wear about their necks, and hung on their perforated ears the rings of the Jógís, in order to be taken for these sectaries.

SECTION THE NINTH: ON THE CREED OF THE CHARVAK.[2]—This sect call *rupa skandha*[3] whatever is perceived and understood by means of the senses. What is ascertained by the perception of the senses is named *vidyá*[4] *skandha*. Personality, consciousness, egotism, have the denomination of *jnaná skan-*

[1] Hardwar, or *Hara-dwara*, "the gate of Hara," is a place in the province of Delhi, situated on the west side of the Ganges, where this river issues from the northern hills. Lat. N. 29° 57′; long. E. 78° 2′. The event above stated took place in the 12th year of the reign of the emperor Shah Jehan, who mounted the throne in the year 1628, and resigned it to his son Aurengzeb in 1658.

[2] चार्वाक: a philosopher, a sceptic in many matters of Hindu faith, and considered by the orthodox as an atheist or materialist.

[3] रूप स्कन्ध: *Skandha* signifies "a book, a section," also "the five "objects of sense."

[4] विद्या स्कन्ध:

dha.[1] The knowledge of animal nature is termed *jnapti skandha.*[2] Whatever enters the interior part, that is, the mind, is entitled *sanskára skandha.*[3] They say, out of these five skandhas just mentioned, there is no other living principle, neither in man nor brutes;[4] the world and its inhabitants have no

[1] ज्ञान स्कन्ध:

[2] ज्ञप्ति स्कन्ध:

[3] संस्कार स्कन्ध:

I shall subjoin from Colebrooke's treatise *On the Philosophy of the Hindus* (Transact. R. A. S., vol. I. part I. p. 561) the more correct denominations and definitions of the five skandhas:

1. *Rúpa-skandha*, comprehending organs of sense and their objects, considered in relation to the person, or the sensitive and intelligent faculty which is occupied with them.

2. *Vijnnyá'na-skandha* consists in intelligence (*chitta*), which is the same with self (*á'tman*) and (*vijnyá'na*) knowledge. It is consciousness of sensation, or continuous course and flow of cognition and sentiment. There is not any other agent, nor being, which acts and enjoys; nor is there an eternal soul; but merely succession of thought, attended with individual consciousness abiding within the body.

3. *Védaná'-skandha* comprises pleasure, pain, or the absence of either, and other sentiments excited in the mind by pleasing or displeasing objects.

4. *Sanjnya-skandha* intends the knowledge or belief arising from names or words: as ox, horse, etc.; or from indications or signs, as a house denoted by a flag, and a man by his staff.

5. *Sanskára-skandha* includes passions; as desire, hatred, fear, joy, sorrow, etc.; together with illusion, virtue, vice, and every other modification of the fancy or imagination. All sentiments are momentary.

[4] Charvaka and his followers recognise perception as the only source of knowledge. They know of no more than four elements, namely, earth, water, fire, and wind, or air; and maintain that from a particular aggre-

creator, and there is no maker: this is clear: because whatever has not entered into the field of manifestation, and has not broken into daylight, cannot have the color of reality, and to be high or low, proceeds from the nature of the universe; whatever is written in the Vedas is not made public, and besides may be a lie which rests upon no foundation; and a lie certainly proceeds from the Vedas, inasmuch as they perform *hóm*, which is a ceremony in which they throw rice and like matters into the fire, and recite prescribed prayers, saying that this goes to the gods: now, whatever we throw into the fire, after cremation, becomes ashes—how do these go to the gods? It is also written in the Vedas, that they are to make an offering of cooked meal to a dead man—who is to enjoy it? For instance, when a person is gone from village to village, from one town to another, and in his absence a meal destined for him is presented to another person, the stomach of the former will not be filled. In the same manner, when any thing is offered to a dead person, who, according to the assumption of the followers of the Vedas, has been translated to another world, what honor and profit will accrue from it to him?

Thus is it also among the revelations of the Vedas,

gation of them in bodily organs there results sensibility and thought, as the inebriating property is produced by the fermenting of several ingredients; they deny the soul to be other than body.

that the depraved and criminal will be punished, and the virtuous and holy associated to quietness and satiated with prosperity: the one and the other is a lie: because the vicious man is freed and alleviated from the hardship of fasting, of bathing in cold water, of subjection to pious practices, and other inconveniences; whilst the virtuous, according to the Vedas, is bound to all these troubles; further, the wise ought to take his share of all the pleasures and cultivate his happiness, because, once reunited with earth, he will no more return.

"There is no return for thee; once gone, thou art gone."

However, nobody is to hurt living beings, as by it he is liable to cause some harm to himself. It is agreed by the wise that no injury is to be done to another; by the observance of which men may be set at ease, their numbers increased, and cultivation be promoted. This is the substance of the belief of the Charvák.

We will explain it more clearly; their creed is as follows: As the creator is not manifest, and the comprehension of mankind cannot attain to any certain knowledge about him, why should we submit to the bondage of an object doubtful, imaginary, if even wished for, yet not found; and why should we, in temples and monasteries, rub our foreheads on the ground, and present offerings to

deities whose reality, as all agree, will not stand trial? And why, for the promise of heaven and of future beatitude should we, like blockheads, abstain from the abundance of desirable things, from conveniences and blandishments? A wise man will not give ready money for an adjourned good, and deliver up place and power upon the lying accounts of books, which eloquent men call Vedas, or heavenly books; it is upon their authority that they extinguish all desires in themselves, and press the necks of men, like those of animals, in halters. We ought not to be deceived; we ought not to believe what is not evident. The frame of the body is composed of four elements, which by the necessity of nature are united harmoniously together; as long as the constitution is firm and health flourishing, it is proper to enjoy whatever is desirable by its nature, provided no harm to living creatures arises from it; when the frame falls asunder, the state to which the element returns can only be the element; after the disjunction of the bodily structure, there is no ascent to a higher mansion, no beatitude or quietness, no descent, or fire, or hell. These sectaries, when they hear the Vedas recited, say jokingly: "These are "sick persons in a painful fit, or hired journeymen "in an uproar." When they behold the zunar (sacred thread) upon the neck of a Brahman, they say: "A cow will not be without a rope." When

they find a pious person watching by night, they say: "He aspires to the dignity of an owl." When they encounter a hermit upon a mountain, they remark: "He strives to outdo a bear." When a person practises the restraining of breath, they observe: "He "wishes to imitate a snake." Of a person in a bath, they say: "He chooses the dwelling of a fish or a "frog." Moreover, when the Hindus relate that Brahma, Vichnu, and Mahadéo, their three great divinities, are the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer of the world, they reply: "They repre- "sent nothing else than the sexual organs."[1] Upon Vichnu's having four arms, they gloss: "At the time "of sexual intercourse, each man and woman has as "many." To the praise of Mahadéo, from whose head the river Ganges flowed, they subjoin the interpretation, that "this means the virile organ in its "natural functions."[2] They meet the statement of Brahma's being the creator of things, with the reply: "That this is an emblem of the birth of children:" and they proffer many other speeches of a similar import.

[1] Veretrum cum duobus testiculis.

[2] Veretrum, urinam vel semen emittens.

SECTION THE TENTH: ON THE SYSTEM OF THOSE WHO PROFESS THE DOCTRINE OF TARK.[1]—*Tark śastra* is the science of dialectics; it is divided into sixteen parts, as follow: THE FIRST, *Pramána*;[2] this is the application of the science, which is subdivided into four parts: 1. *Parîkshá*;[3] that is, evidence, which with them is the sense of discriminating what is particular and well defined; 2. *Anumána*;[4] that is, after having perceived the mark of an object, to infer its existence; thus shall I call a mountain *igni-vomous*, on account of the smoke which proceeds from it; 3. *Apamána*;[5] that is "resemblance;" thus I shall say: such as is a cow, such is also an elk (or gayal);[6] although I may not have seen an elk, but only heard that it is like a cow; 4. *Sabda*;[7] that is, "sound:" by these they mean speeches which people adopt as sacred; such "as the Hindus have the Vedas, and the Muselmans "the Koran." These are the four parts which constitute the *Pramána*.

THE SECOND of the sixteen divisions of the Tark

[1] तर्क: "discussion, reasoning, argument, reduction to absurdity."

[2] प्रमाण.

[3] परीक्षा.

[4] अनुमान.

[5] उपमान.

[6] Bos gavæus vel frontalis.

[7] शब्द.

sastra is *Pramiti*,[1] that is, the comprehension of what is conjoint and concomitant. This division is subdivided into twelve parts, namely, 1. *Atmá*,[2] that is "spirit;" and means something which is distinct from what is material and sentient; something everlasting, eternal, very subtile in all bodies; 2. *Sarirá*,[3] that is "body;" and this they define to be the seat of sensuality and of maladies; 3. *Indriya*,[4] "the exterior senses;" and these they call the organs of perception; 4. *Artha*,[5] and this they declare to be "the earthly existences;" 5. *Buddhi*,[6] which they term "knowledge;" 6. *Manas*,[7] "or the interior sense, which with the Hindus is "the heart," and that is enough; 7. *Pravritti*,[8] and

[1] प्रमिति: true knowledge, or knowledge derived from the senses, inference, analogy, or information.

[2] आत्मा.

[3] शरीरं.

[4] इन्द्रिय.

[5] अर्था: objects of sense.

[6] बुद्धि: apprehension, conception, intelligence. It is twofold: notion and remembrance.

[7] मनस्.

[8] प्रवृत्ति: activity, occupation. It is determination, the result of passion, and the cause of virtue, and is vice, or merit and demerit, according as the act is one enjoined or forbidden. It is oral, mental, or corporeal; not comprehending unconscious vital functions. It is the reason of all worldly proceedings.

this consists in justice or injustice; 8. *Dósha,*[1] that is "sinful error," and this is subdivided into three parts, viz.: *Rága,* and this is "sensual lust;" *Dvèsha,* that is, "hate, enmity;" *Muha,*[2] and this is "gross "ignorance;" 9. the ninth of the twelve subdivisions is *Prétyabháva,*[3] which is "the reproduction "either of the tree from the seed, or of the animal "from the sperma; 10. *Phal,*[4] or "the good con- "sequence of the good, or the bad consequence of "the bad," which means "retribution;" 11. *Dukh,*[5] or "pain;" and 12. *Apavarga,*[6] that is, "delight," or the satisfaction of truth, from which they derive emancipation, or *mukt,* in the language of their learned men. Whoever is in full possession of it banishes far from himself twenty-one maladies which they enumerate, namely: 1. *Sarira,*[7] or "the body;"

[1] दोष.

[2] मुह.

[3] प्रेत्य भाव: is the condition of the soul after death; which is transmigration: for the soul being immortal, passes from a former body, which perishes, to a new one, which receives it. This is reproduction (*punar ut patti*).

[4] फलं.

[5] दु:खं.

[6] अप वर्ग: final beatitude, the delivery of the soul from the body, and exemption from further transmigration.

[7] शरीरं.

2. *Shadindriya,*[1] that is, "the six senses," five of which are exterior, and the sixth is, according to the Hindus, the interior sense, except which they know of no other; they say, the *mind* is the lord of the exterior senses; 3. *Shad-darsa,*[2] that is, "the six "particular objects of the six senses;" so as seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, smelling with the nose, tasting with the tongue, touching with the hand, and perceiving with the mind; he who sees is one, and that which is seen is another; so that there is a seeing eye and a seen object, whatever is seen, heard, smelled, tasted, touched, and impressed upon the mind, corresponds respectively to each of the six senses; and whatever is found by these six senses, or the six objects, are called *Shad-darsas;* these six, with the six former senses, and the saríra, or "body," make thirteen; add to these six buddhaya, or "powers of comprehension;" further, *sukhá,* or "sensual delight;" and finally, *dukh,* or "pain," and you have the twenty-one affections before mentioned.

The third of the sixteen parts of the Tarka is the *sans'aya:*[4] this consists in pondering whether a cer-

[1] षड् इन्द्रियाणि:

[2] षड् दर्शा:

[3] सुखं.

[4] संशय :

tain object be such a thing or another, as when a person sees from a distance an object and is not certain what it is, whether it be a mineral or a man.

THE FOURTH PART is the *Prayójana*,[1] that is, "motive," which they explain thus: as when one by order goes to find something either good or bad.

THE FIFTH PART is the *Drishtánta*;[2] that is, "comparison by way of illustration;" so when they compare a mountain and a kitchen, that is: the mountain contains fire, and so does the kitchen, and both indicate it by the smoke which they emit.

THE SIXTH PART is the *Siddhanta*;[3] and this is knowing something with certainty.

THE SEVENTH PART is *Avayava*,[4] "dividing a subject into minute parts;" for instance, when they say:

[1] प्रयोजनं is that by which a person is actuated or moved to action; it is the desire of attaining pleasure or of shunning pain; or the wish of exemption from both: for such is the purpose or impulse of every one in a natural state of mind.

[2] दृष्टान्त:

[3] सिद्धान्त. demonstrated truth is of four sorts; viz.: universally acknowledged; partially so; hypothetically; argumentatively (or *è concessa*).

[4] अवयव: A regular argument, or complete syllogism (*nya'ya*), consists of five members, or component parts: 1. the proposition. प्रति ज्ञा *pratijnya'*; 2. the reason हेतु *hetu* (as above said); 3. the instance (*uda'haran'a*); 4. the application (*upanaya*); 5. the conclusion, (*nigamana*). Ex.: 1st, the hill is fiery; 2nd, for it smokes; 3d, what smokes is fiery; 4th, accordingly, the hill is smoking; 5th, therefore it is fiery.

"he mountain contains fire on account of smoke," so is, in this question, the first part termed *pratijnya*, or " proposition," *the mountain contains fire;* the second part, called *hètu*, or " cause, reason;" in this thesis is: *on account of the smoke which it emits.*

THE EIGHTH PART is *Tarka*,[1] that is, " arguing:" so when they say: " the mountain contains no fire," it may be replied: " consequently it also emits no " smoke."

THE NINTH PART is *Nirnéya;*[2] which is to find the truth immediately.

THE TENTH is *Váda*,[3] or " discussion;" that is, to raise questions about God and the saints.

THE ELEVENTH is *Jalpa;*[4] that is, " wrangling;" when one, in the establishment of what is right, endeavors to conquer his adversary.

THE TWELTH PART is *Vitandá;*[5] which means that

[1] तर्क: not to be confounded with doubt, to which there are two sides; but to this but one; that is, reduction to absurdity.

[2] निर्णय: ascertainment or determination of truth; the result of evidence and of reasoning.

[3] वाद: discussion defined as the speech of one desirous to know the truth.

In Gotama's arrangement, THE TENTH is called *Kat'ha*, disputation, or conference of interlocutors, maintaining adverse positions.

[4] जल्प: debate of disputants contending for victory.

[5] वि तण्ड cavil, or controversy, wherein the disputant seeks to confute his opponent, without offering to support a position of his own.

one pays no attention to his own position, but combats that of other persons.

THE THIRTEENTH PART is *hètwàbhása*;[1] or "fallacious "argument;" so when one says: "sound is eter- "nal;" because what may be seen by the eye is like the sky, and just as the sky is perceived by sight, so is sound the perception of the ear.

THE FOURTEENTH PART is *Ch'hala*,[2] "deceit;" this is when one substitutes one meaning for another: so as the Persian word *náu kambil*[3] means "a new "cover," or "nine covers," it may give occasion to equivocation.

THE FIFTEENTH PART is *Játi* [4] "futile argument;" and this may be applied to a lying purpose: so when one says that "sound is eternal," because it is created, as is the sky; both are the works of a divinity; and whereas the sky is eternal, sound is everlasting.

THE SIXTEENTH PART is *Nigraha*,[5] or "subjugation;"

[1] हेत्वाभास semblance of a reason; it is the *non causa pro causa* of the logicians.

[2] छल perversion and misconstruction; it is of three sorts: 1. verbal misconstruing of what is ambiguous; 2. perverting, into a literal sense, what is said in a metaphorical one; 3. generalising what is particular.

[3] نوکنبل. In the Persian text an example of it is given, which I have not thought necessary to translate.

[4] ज्ञाति: a futile answer, or self-confuting reply. No less than twenty-four are enumerated.

[5] निग्रह It is the termination of a controversy. Of this, likewise, no fewer than twenty-two distinctions are specified.

that is, when one wishes to be a conqueror at the end of a dispute with another.

These are the sixteen parts of the Tarka.[1] The followers of this doctrine judge and affirm that, as this world is created, there must be a Creator; the *mukt* or "emancipation," in their opinion means striving to approach the origin of beings, not uniting like the warp and the web, the threads of which, although near, are nevertheless separate from each other. This was related to me by the Imám Arastú, who was a chief of the learned and said to me that he had derived it from an old treatise upon logic, the precepts of which were without explanation, and to have bestowed on it that arrangement under which it now exists amongst the learned: he meant, probably, that the maxims are the same as those extracted from the Tarka. The same doctrine was taught in Greece: in confirmation of this, the Persians say, that the science of logic which was diffused among them was, with other sciences, translated into the language of Yonia and Rumi, by order of king Secander, the worshipper of science, in the time of his conquest, and sent to Rúmi.

SECTION THE ELEVENTH: ON THE TENETS HELD BY THE FOLLOWERS OF BUDDHA. — These sectaries are also

[1] These are in substance the very same as the sixteen categories of *Go'tama*, exhibited in Colebrooke's treatise *On the Philosophy of the Hindus, Transact. R. A. Soc.*, vol. I pp. 95-118.

called *Jatis*.[1] They have no belief in incarnations or Avatárs of the Deity, but they admit the transmigration of the soul into different bodies; they deny several other dogmas of the Hindus; in their opinion, nothing is more detestable than the doctrine of the Brahmans, and when a misfortune befals any one of them, they say: "Hast thou perchance done some "good to a Brahman, or drunk some water of the *bone devourer:* so they call the Ganges, because the Hindus, after the burning of the dead, throw their bones into that river, and think it a meritorious act. The Jatis take the greatest care of not hurting a living being; on which account they do not like to pass through water, for fear that an animal might come under their feet. They eat no animal food, never put their feet upon grass, and when they drink water, they filter it first through a handkerchief or a piece of cloth, that no living animal may remain in it, and then steep this piece of cloth awhile in water, in order that, if a living being stick thereto, it may be separated, and take its place in the liquid. A great number of the Baníans or traders are of this sect; for the most part they sell corn, and some get a livelihood as servants. The durvishes of this

[1] More correctly Yatis. See note, p. 195. This section appears to apply more properly to the *Jainas*, that is, to one of the great divisions of the followers of Buddha. The Jainas are subdivided into a great num-

class are called *Srivaras* and *Jatis*.[1] They pluck the hair of their head and beard by means of tweezers.[2] When they travel, they carry a besom of the bark of a soft tree with them, and out of regard for the life of animals, they sweep the road with it before they put down their feet, that no living insect may be destroyed. When they speak, they hold a handkerchief before their mouth, not to swallow a fly or other insect.

They are frequently learned, and pass their life in celibacy and sanctity; these they call *Jatis*, who never behold the face of a woman. Those of this sect who are married, called *Grihasth'a*,[3] show great regard for the Jatis, before whom, by a refinement

ber of tribes and religious sects, a long series of which is enumerated in the work quoted by Lieut.-Col. Miles (p. 351-363).

[1] In the note, p. 195, are mentioned the *Jatis*, or *Yatis*, also called *Sévras* among the Jainas of Guzerat and Marwar. According to the same authority (Transact. R. A. S., vol. III. p. 344), these are distinguished from the *Sravakas*, as the laity of the Jainas are called in that country. According to Major de la Maine (work quoted, vol. I. p. 413), the Sravacs are the only considerable part of the earlier Jains or Arhats. "Sravakas," says Doctor Buchanan Hamilton (*ibid.*, p. 531), "is the "name given to the Jains in the districts of Bahar and Patna." The three authors just quoted agree in stating that the priests of the Sravakas are called Yatis. The Dabistan reads سریورہ, *Srivarah*, which may be correct श्री वर् "the elect of happiness."

[2] *Lunchita-kés'a*, "hair-pluckers," is one of the nicknames given to the *Swéta'mbaras*, "clad in white," a sect of the Jainas – (*Colebrooke*, work quoted, p. 351).

[3] "A householder."

of respect, they scarce dare bend their body. Whenever they receive a Jati in their house, they do whatever he orders, according to their power. They are divided into two classes: the *Lunugí* and *Pujáris*. The first are those who adore God as one, and think him free from all imperfections and contradictions, descents and conjunctions, and who worship no idol. The *Pujáris* venerate the image of a deity, and have temples for it. The durvishes of both classes, called Jatis, at the time of taking meals, go into the houses of friends, and take only as much food as may not cause a privation to the people of the house: thus they visit several houses until they get satiated. They drink no cold water, but go from place to place, and wherever any body has warm water for bathing, they take a little of it, and having thus collected sufficient water, they let it cool and then drink it.

Similar to the durvi hes of both classes is a third sect, called *Mahá-átma*; they have the dress and appearance of Jatis; only they do not pluck their hair with tweezers, but cut it. They accumulate money, cook their meal in their houses, drink cold water, and take to them a wife. Farzánah Khushí says: I saw, in Guzerat of the Panjab, a S'rivara, and requested him to give me a full account, which may be deemed true beyond any doubt, of the people of his sect. He related as follows: "The men of my faith

" maylive retired from the world, or devoted to bu-
" siness; they do no harm to any body; but there
" are many of them eager for science, and as many
" bereft of knowledge." One of the Maha-átmas was a learned man; the wife of a rich man devoted herself to his service; one day she complained to him of the unkindness of her husband; the S'rivara gave no answer; wherefore the woman said: " Another time
" I will not wait on thee, because thou takest no
" interest in me." The S'rivara rejoined: " If
" even thy visit were agreeable to me, it would be
" of no service to thee." He then took up a bit of grass, and having breathed upon it, gave it to the woman, saying: " Put on a clean garment, and
" having ground the grass, rub it upon thy gar-
" ment until thy husband becomes kind to thee."
The woman returned to her house, and having ground the grass upon a stone, intended to rub it upon her garment, when the husband entered into the room, therefore the grass she had ground remained upon the stone. When night fell in, they shut the door of the house. The stone at every moment jumped from its place, knocked against the board of the door, and fell back: the woman and her husband were astonished. The man asked his wife the reason of it, and she, from fear, told him what had taken place. The man rose and opened the door of the house; the stone was set in motion, and rolled

on until it reached the house of the Mahá-átma. Many other similar stories are told of the Srí-varas. Khushi said that he had seen the Jati just mentioned, who by the power of incantation put stones into motion; he praised him, but declared that this man was really a Jati, but not a Mahá-átma.

The author of this book affirms he has seen a great number of Srivaras and their followers. From them he knew *Meher chand*, a *Lúnú*, in the year 1056 of the Hejira (1646 A. D.), in Dotárah, which is under the dominion of Jodpur Márawár, he found also Síva rama, a Pujári, in Mirta, which place belongs to Marawar, and one named *Jagna*, a Banian, in Ráwel Pandi: he was adorned with all the good qualities of Jatis. When he saw a bird in the hands of a fowler, he bought it of him and set it free. This sect do whatever they can for the liberation of living beings. Many of them are rájas in several places and countries. When one brings a goat which he has bought somewhere, and is disposed to kill it, they come from their shops and buy the animal at a high price; thus it has been seen that, having assembled from person to take care of them. It is said, that in Guze-all hands a great number of sheep, they appointed a rat lived a Banian who was a Jati; one day, a Muselman Durvish sat down before his shop, and having picked vermin from his coat, was about to kill it;

the Banian interposed; the Durvish said: "If thou "wilt give me something, I may spare it;" the Banian offered a *pie*;[1] the other wanted more and more, until the bargain closed with the sum of one hundred rupees, which the Banian paid for the liberation of the offensive insect. Hafiz Shirázi says:

"Avoid hurting any living animal, and do whatever thou likest,
"For in my book of laws there is no crime but this."

SECTION THE TWELFTH: ON VARIOUS RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS PROFESSED BY THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.—It is to be recollected that, as has been stated, there are Samradían, Khodaníán, Radián, Shíderangían, Pâikerían, Mílánían, Alárían, Shídábían, Akhshían, and Mazdakían, who are dispersed in Iran and Turan, and all appear in the dress of Muselmans, although in secret they follow each the path of their own chosen faith; in the same manner various sects are also established in India, but they do not appear in the dress of Muselmans. It is to be known, that the fundamental rule in the creed of the Hindus is the *Smriti*, that is, the "law," and that all Rakshasas, that is, "devotees," follow this way; the Véda, to them the heavenly book, prescribes the acts, and

[1] The natives reckon 64 pies to the rupee.

is a text, from which every sect may derive proofs of its particular belief, and all may agree in some points.

I have already given an account of their religion, but I must here remind the reader of some points. They say Naránaya, that is, "the deity," in the origin was alone; a flower, namely, the lotus, having a thousand leaves, rose from his navel, from which Brahma came forth, Brahma *chatur mukha*,[1] or "four "faced;" one of these faces was cut off by Máhadéo; Brahma is also *ashta báhu*,[2] that is "eight armed;" in his navel was also a flower of five hundred leaves, from which Vichnu proceeded; Vichnu *chatur báhu*, or "four armed;" he carries in one hand a spear; in the other, the *chakra*, "the discus," a weapon peculiar to the Hindus; in the third hand, the *gadá*, or "club;" and, in the fourth, the lotus flower. In the navel of Vichnu was a lotus of one hundred leaves, from which sprang Mahadéo, who is *ashtamukha*, or "eight faced" and "eight armed;" he rides upon a bull, his neck is surrounded by a snake, the hide of an elephant envelops him, and his body is rubbed with ashes; *chandra*, "the moon," *surya*, "the sun," and *agni*, or "fire," are his three eyes. The sect of *Sáivas* adore Mahadéo, and his

[1] चतुर्मुखः

[2] अष्ट बाहुः

wife is worshipped by the *Akmían* and *Ashuían*, as before shown.

Another sect is that of the Sanyásis, who are praised in the Smriti; they distinguish themselves by long and entangled hair, which is called *jata*.[1] The Saiva-Sanyásis are also called *Avadutas*; their numbers increased during the Kaliyng; they are very pious, intrepid, and charitable. At one time, a war broke out between them and the Sófís: the former were victorious.

Another sect is that of the *Jangaman*; these also cut the hair off their heads, they rub dust upon their bodies, and praise Mahadéo, to whom they attribute a real existence. They are divided into several classes. They say, among the celestial spirits are nine Brahmas, who are the *ans'us*,[2] that is, "the "rays" of Brahma. There are one thousand Vichnus, rays of Vichnu, who is also called *Narávana*; there are eleven *Rudras*, rays of Rudra, which is a name of Mahádeo; they reckon twelve suns,[3] rays of the great luminary; sixteen *kalas*,[4] that is,

[1] जटा the hair matted, as worn by the god Síva, and by ascetics; the long hair occasionally matted together, and brought over the head so as to project like a horn from the forehead; at other times allowed to fall carelessly over the back and shoulders.

[2] अंशु:

[3] The Hindus have twelve *a'dityas*, that is, "forms of the sun:" these appear to represent him as distinct in each month of the year.

[4] कला a digit, or 16th part of the moon's diameter.

parts or rays of the moon; and they divide the effulgence of that body into sixteen parts, and enumerate eight and twenty of its mansions, or *nakshatras*,[1] and seven planets, besides the head and tail of the dragon. Ganesa is to them a god with the head of an elephant. They distinguish eight quarters of the world, besides the zenith and nadir, and call them *asht dísa*,[2] in the following order: *purva*, "east;" *pas'chima*, "west;" *dakchina*," "south; and *uttara*, "north;" between south and east, *agni;* between south and west, *náirrita;* between north and west, *váyu*, between north and east, *is'ána*. Among the deities are *Bhaírava*[3] and *Hanuman*, and among

[1] नक्षत्र The Paurânic and popular enumeration of those mansions, or constellations is twenty-seven; Abhijit, the twenty-seventh, being considered as formed of portions of the two contiguous asterisms, and not distinct from them.—(*Wilson's Dict.*)

[2] अष्ट दिशाः These eight cardinal points have each their regent, viz.:

पूर्व	its regent is	Indra,	इन्द्रः
पश्चिम	—	Varuna,	वरुणः
दक्षिण	—	Yama,	यमः
उत्तर	—	Kuvéra,	कुबेरः
Between S. and E. the regent is			अग्निः or वह्निः
— S. and W.	—		नैर्ऋतः
— N. and W.	—		वायुः
— N. and E.	—		ईशानः

[3] भैरव "the formidable," a name of Siva, but more especially an inferior manifestation or form of the deity, eight of which are called by

female spirits *asht Durgás*, or "eight Durgás," in the following order: *Kálaká, Chandra Kálanjarí, Káumarí, Váichnaví, Bábhraví, Chamundá,*[1] *Bhaváni*, and *Parvati.*[2] *Maha Lakchmî Sarasvatí* is the wife of Brahma. *Rakshasas* are termed the pious men of the Satya yug; *Kas'yapa* is the father of the sun; *Vas'ishta*, the preceptor of Ram-avatár; *Vis'vamitra*, a Kshatría, who by dint of pious austerity became a Brahman; *Valmiki* is the author of the poem Ramayána, which contains the history of Ráma; *Angirasah Ihr Vyása* composed the historical poem Mahabharata; Bhazadvája Jamadagni existed in the Dwapara yug; *Gotama, Kapah, (Kapila?) Parására, Narada*, in the Kali yug; *Chonah, Apravanah, Aurdah, Jamed Kapeh*, these are for ever living;[3] *Saptarchaya*, that is, seven Richis, or "saints," are: *Kas'yapa, Uttara, Bhardvája, Vis'vamitra, Gotama, Jamadagni*, and *Vas'ish'ta.*[4]

It is to be known that there is a class among the Hindus who give themselves the term of Musel-

the common name *Bha'i ravas*, and have each a particular name, all alluding to terrific properties of mind or body.

[1] The edit. of Calcutta adds to Chamunda *Set mantra.*

[2] These are personified energies of the Gods, called Mátris, viz.: क्यलक, कालञ्ररो, कौमारो, वैष्णवो, बाभ्रवो, चमुण्डा, भवानो, पार्वती.

[3] I cannot hope to have restored every name of the Persian text to its correct original form.

[4] If the seven Richis, who are supposed to abide in the constellation of the Great Bear, are meant, their names differ very much from those commonly given, which are as follows: Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulustya, Kratu, and Vás ishta.

man-sofis, and really agree in several tenets and opinions with the Sufís. Thus, in the first place, they devote themselves to celibacy. As they have heard that there are ten classes of Sanyásís, and twelve of Yogís, they also pretend to be divided into fourteen classes; when they meet together, the questions which they ask are: Who are the four sages, and which are the fourteen noble families? and they impose upon their disciples many years of service, before they reveal to them the four sages and the fourteen families; they say: The sage of sages is the illustrious Muhammed (may the peace of God be upon him!); after him, devoted to godliness, Ali (may the blessing of God be upon him!); from him the khalifat devolved upon Imam Hossain; then Khaja Hossen, of Basora, also was his disciple and a khalif: these four personages are the four sages. They say besides, from Khaja Hossen, of Basora, sprang two branches: the first was that of the khalif Hossen Basorí Habíb Ajemí, from whom nine families proceeded, named as follows: the *Jibián*, *Táikerián*, *Kerkhián*, *Sikatián*, *Jenídián*, *Gazrúnián*, *Túsián*, *Ferdusián*, and *Soherwardián*. From the second khalifat of Hossen Basori, which was that of the Shaikh Abdul Wahid Zaid, came forth five families with the following titles: the *Zebirian*, *Aiásian*, *Adhamian*, *Habirian*, and *Cheshtián*: and these are the fourteen noble families. It is said, that there exists

a congregation of pious sectaries, who do not adhere to the prophet Muhammed, although they acknowledge him to be a blessed gatherer of the harvest of virtuous perfection: they relate, that one day the prophet was taking a pleasure-walk under the guidance of Jabríl, and came to a place where a great tumult was heard. Jabril said: "This is the "threshold of pleasure: enter into the house." The prophet consented to go in, and there he saw sitting forty persons as naked as they came from their mother, and a band busy serving; but whatever service the prophet requested them to command him to do, they did not comply, until the moment to grind *bang*[1] arrived. When they had ground it, they had no cloth through which they could strain and purify it; then the prophet, having taken his turban from his head, purified through it the juice of the bang, the color of which remained on the turban; whence the garment of the Biní Hashem is green. When the prophet rendered them this service, they were glad, and said among themselves: "Let us "give to this messenger of God, who is always "running to the door of the ignorant, a little of "the bang, that he may obtain the secrets of the "Almighty power:" so they gave the remains of the juice to the prophet. When he had drunk it, he

[1] *Bang* is an inebriating, maddening draught, made of hemp-leaves, henbane, opium, or masloe.—(*Richardson's Dict.*)

became possessed of the secrets of the angel of destiny, and whatever men heard from him, came through the means of this bounty.

There is a great number of this sect in Hindostan, and among the most celebrated of them are, in the first line, the *Madárían*, who, like the Sanyásís *Avadhuts*, wear the hair entangled; and the ashes which they and the Sanyásis rub upon their bodies are called *bhasma;*[1] besides, they carry iron chains on their heads and necks, and have black flags and black turbans; they know neither prayers nor fasts; they are always sitting at a fire; they drink a great deal of bang; and the most perfect among them go about without any dress, in severe cold ,in Kabul, and Kachmir, and such places. These also consume much bang, and to the praise of one of their sect they say: "Such a one takes two or three *seers*[2] of bang. When they sit together, they relate, that in the night, when the prophet ascended through

[1] Black is the color of the Sunnites. This supports Professor Wilson's *Statement*, agreeing with the Dabistan (see *As. Trans.*, N. S. p. 73), that the Madárián are Sunnites. But, considering the descent of their founder, and the concurring account of several Asiatic authors, we may be disposed to denominate them Shiáhs, or Jsmámiahs, although the latter have adopted green as the distinguishing color of their sect, which is also that of the followers of the prophet.

[2] One *seer* = 2 lbs. 6 oz.; French weight, 933.005 grammes: 40 seers make a *maund;* one maund, in English Troy weight is 100 lbs.; French grammes, 27,320.182 - (*Useful Tables*, edited by James Princep, Esq., Part I p. 63).

the seven stages of heaven, he received the command of God to wander through the heavens. When he arrived at the door of paradise, he found the entrance as narrow as the eye of a needle; the porter made him a sign to enter; the prophet said: "With "this body, how shall I enter through this pas- "sage?" Jabril replied: "Say: *dam madar*," ("the "breath of Madar," a particular ejaculation of this sect). The prophet said so, upon which the narrow door opened, and he entered heaven.

They say, when Badih eddin Madar[1] came to Hindostan, he became a Yogi, whom the Hindus held in great esteem, and who had a great number of followers. Madar took a house; he sent a little boy, whose name was Jamen, with the order to fetch some dry cowdung with which he wanted to kindle a fire. It so happened that Jamen fell in with an assembly of Yogis, who, supposing him a Musel-

[1] Badih-eddin, "the marvel of religion," was the son of Said Ali, and his origin is traced up to the Imám Hossain, son of Ali. He was born in the year of the Hejira 442, A. D. 1050-1. Under the reign of Ibrahim Sherkey, he came to India, where he died in 1433 A. D., according to the dates of his birth and death 383 years old, but 395 and even 400 years old, according to the legend of this saint, who owed his longevity to the power of keeping his breath. Under the simple name of Madár, he is held in great veneration in India, where an annual feast is celebrated in his honor, and his tomb visited by numerous pilgrims, even in our days. He is said to have had 1442 sons, say spiritual children or disciples—(See for Madar, *Mémoire sur les particularités de la Religion musulmane dans l'Inde, par M. Garcin de Tassy*, pp. 54-62).

man, killed, cut into pieces, and devoured the boy. Some time after, not receiving any thing to light up his fire, Madár went in search of Jamen, and found the assembly of Yogis, to whom he said: "What "have you done with my good little boy?" They answered: "We have not seen him." Madár called him loud by his name, and the members of Jamen, from within the bodies of the assembled Yogis, answered "*Dam madar.*" Madár then said to the Yogis: "Shall I bring forth Jamen from you all, or "from one only of you?" They replied: "From "one body only." By the power of Madár, the limbs of the boy having united, in a manner that no body perceived any thing of it, in the belly of the principal Yogi, Jamen fell out from the nose of the same, so that neither the nostril of the Yogi's nose was enlarged, nor the boy's limbs diminished:[1] whereupon the Yogis chose to run away. Madár settled at this place, which till now is known by the name of *Makanpúr*.[2] The Madarían come, as many as possible, from all parts of the world, once a year,

[1] This tale reminds us of a similar story related in the Mahábharat (Adhi-parva, Sambhava-parva, Adyaya 75, 76, edit. Calc., vol. I. p. 115). *Kacha*, the son of Vrihaspati, who was killed three times by the Asuras (the first time swallowed by jackals; afterwards, cut to pieces and thrown into the sea; and, finally, pulverised and swallowed by Çukra, the preceptor of the dáityas) and each time brought to life in a miraculous way.

[2] This a village near Firezabad, in the province of Agra.

on a fixed day, to Makanpur, and say that the blind and lame find their cure in that place.

They relate also, that *Chistápá*, the wife of Baharam Gul, in order to put to the test the Muhammedan and Indian durvishes and saints, came once among them who were assembled, and said: "Whoever will loosen the bracelet of beads (called *Sámran*) upon my arm, without betraying the least "symptom of lust, he is a perfect saint." All the pretenders to perfect sanctity, Muselmans and Hindus, presented themselves, but at the sight of Chistapa, they all were maddened with love, such was the beauty of her face: at last the turn came to Jamen, who approached her, and loosened the bracelet in a manner which, at the same time, evinced his manly strength, and his complete command over himself.[1] On that account, Jamen was proclaimed victorious over all the Muselmans and Hindus. And they have a great number of other similar stories.

Another sect, the *Jelalían*, are disciples of *Said Jelal*, of Bokhára;[2] his sepulchre is in the village *Auch*, in the district of *Sind*; these sectaries profess to be Shiáhs, whilst the Medárían are *Sunís*, on

[1] Armillam membro suo aperuit erecto.

[2] These sectaries worship the more terrible attributes of the Deity. Said Jelál, or Jelál-eddin Bokhári was born in the year of the Hejira 707 (A. D. 1307); he died in 775 (A. D. 1374), and is buried in the town of Auch, in the province of Multan.—(See the work of M. Garcin de Tassy, quoted pp. 69–70).

which account they revile each other. The former know of neither prayers nor fasts, nor any other practices of piety with which the Sufís are occupied; they take a great deal of bang, and used to eat snakes and scorpions. When the adepts among them see a snake, they put it whole into their mouth and swallow it, saying: "This is a fish of the holy Alí;" in eating a scorpion they remark: "This is a prawn "of Alí:" and the worms which are found in the water, they call the little crabs of Alí. Like the Medárian, the Jelalían go naked, and even in the severely cold season, wear no garment; they sit before the fire like the Medárian, but do not wear matted hair; frequently they shave four parts of their body, and lead a wandering life in the world. Some of them bring every thing that they gain to their master, and when they go for instruction to a preceptor, they deliver to him whatever they possess in ready money and other property; after which he presents them with a turban, and his list of saints; they wear that on their heads, and hang this on their necks. They believe that, when Jzráil comes to take their soul, the turban, descending, covers their eyes so that they may not behold the face of the angel of death, which is exceedingly terrific. Their master looks every day for a new connexion with a woman; whenever he knows of a fine girl among his disciples, he orders trumpets to be blown, goes on

horseback, and betaking himself to their house, uses his own discretion with the girl, whom he now and then takes to his own house, but never marries. The author of this book asked one of the Jelális: "Hámed Mahommed, your master, does he take "the daughter of one of his disciples without mar- "rying her?" He answered: "The Safavian kings "too take wives, daughters, and sons of their dis- "ciples, who are highly pleased with it, why should "not Hámed Mahommed, who is truly the Khalif "(substitute) of Alí, do the same?" This act is a sign of sovereignty, and a prerogative of the family of the prophet. In this country are many of his disciples, and he is a very great friend to hunting.

There is another sect who call themselves without tie and food; it is a laudable conduct with them to take nothing from any body beyond the required food and drink; and for their indispensable clothing, from the shreds which they find in the streets to stick together a coat, which they call *kherka;* and when they ask something from any body, they first revile him and call him bad names, wherefore they often receive bad treatment from the people. They say, God is a spirit, and Muhammed his body; his four friends are his two arms and two feet; *dam mádar*, that is, Mádar, is the breath and the spirit of God. They drink many sorts of spirituous and intoxicating liquors. They believe the unity of the

divine being, and some of them are also pious men. Their master was *Gada Narâyana*. The three just mentioned sects never shed the blood of animated beings.

Another sect, called *Kakan*, is in Kachmir; celibacy is their law, and their belief the unity of the divine being. They use much bang; a number of them is devoted to piety; their name of "Kakan" is derived from that of their master, who was Ibrahim Kakak. He lived, they say, in the time of the Pádshah Jchangír, who inhabits heaven, and drew to him whomever he chose; his very sight was such an attraction, that he on whom it fixed was irresistibly thrown at his feet; thus he attached to himself a great number of disciples, Hindus and Muselmans, none of whom he induced to change his religion; that is to say, to the Hindu he did not expound the Koran, nor propose circumcision; and to the Muselman he did not make an obligation of the Zunar, and of the mark of caste upon the forehead; neither the praise of Muselmans nor the blame of Hindus came ever upon his tongue; he never pronounced either the name of the prophet or that of an Avatar, which are the great objects of veneration to the Muselmans and to the Hindus; but he uttered *Ruma*, or *Alla*, or *Khoda*. He did not sleep at night, nor did his disciples, who sat back to back until morning before him. At a place of Kachmir,

he said to his followers: "A great number of men "laid down; let us do the same." The followers answered: "Let it be as you say:" he then first laid himself down to sleep, and the friends did the same. One day he heard the voice of a crier from the top of a minaret, and said: "This is the voice "of God;" at this moment one of his companions broke wind; he subjoined: "This too is God; this "too the divine tongue." A student present said to him: "Do not blaspheme." He replied: "The "one and the other is an undulation of the air, and "the air is subject to God." The student reassumed: "But the bad smell, with the noise, what "is it?" The answer was: "This proceeds from "the association of '*thou and I;*'" The student said farther: "Drink no bang, because the bang-"drinkers shall not pass over the bridge of judg-"ment (*sarat́h*)." Kakak replied: "Great is the "number of bang-drinkers; let us, on this side of "the bridge, build a town and call it *Bang pur*, and "not think of passing the bridge." Goya Kásem composed a ludicrous account of these drunken sectaries. When the king *Kásem Anwar* (distributor of splendors) was near the habitation of excellence, he recited the following verses:

"He (God) distributes the light; I distribute bang,
"He is the distributor of splendors; I, the distributor of secrets."

A great number of men in India think as these

sectaries. The Sanyásis assembled once in one of the sacred places of pilgrimage revered by the Hindus; by accident, an army of naked Jelális and Madáris came there at the same time, and having brought a cow, wanted to kill it; the Sanyásis bought the cow from them; they came a second time, with another cow, which the Sanyásis again, not without entreaties, purchased. These men, barefoot and bareheaded, having become insolent by their numbers, brought a third cow and killed it; the Sanyásis, indignant at this, attacked them, and a battle ensued, in which the Sanyásis at last obtained the victory, and killed seven hundred of the naked Jelális and Madáris; they educated the boys of these fanatics, whom they made prisoners on this occasion, in their own religion. The Sanyásis were frequently seen engaged in war.

Another class of the Hindus are the *Yógis*, who pretend to a high antiquity; an account of them has already been given.

Other sects, such as the *Sankhyan*, and the *Patanjálís*,[1] are devoted to piety, and practise the *yóga*,

[1] The founder of this sect was Patanjali, born in Havriti-varcha, he taught in Bhagabhandara. His school is theistical, called *sa Jswara Sankhya*, or "philosophy with the Lord." God is the supreme ruler, a spirit or a soul, distinct from other spirits or souls, untouched by those evils to which these are subject; indifferent to all good or bad actions and their consequences, as well as to all transitory conceptions; he is omniscient; teacher of the earliest things which had a beginning, that is,

and other pious austerities; also the *Charvakián*, who believe the four classes of their sect to be very ancient: we have already treated of them, as well as of the *Játis* and *Vairágis*; the *Nanak Panthián* will be introduced hereafter.

The *Narayaníán* are a sect of the Hindus, which holds its creed from *Gosáin Haridas*. He was of the tribe of *Játs*, from the village *Kanóra*, in the district of *Saválik*; he was a servant of *Nabidás Sanyálá*; which last name is that of a tribe of the numerous Rájaputs. Haridas, when hunting, shot an arrow at a deer which was with young, and brought down a fawn, which had also been pierced by the arrow. At the sight of this event, Haridas broke his bow and arrows, tore his garment into pieces, weeping and bewailing, and during twelve years had no intercourse with the society of men. Afterwards, he assembled many disciples about him. He died in the year 1055 of the Hejira (1645 A. D.). This sect know nothing of idols, nor of temples, nor of the Kâbah, nor of any sort of worship; they do nothing towards obtaining the knowledge of, or union with, God; they confine themselves to the veneration of *Naráyan*, or "the supreme Being," from which they derive the name of *Naráyanían*. They do not occupy

of all mythological divinities; himself infinite, and illimited by time. Patanjali insists upon austere religious practices, exterior and interior, to which he ascribes wonderful effects.

themselves with the affairs of the world; abnegation and solitude is their law. Some have an earthen cup to drink water in; some dispense even with this; they hurt no living being; they never pull up any grass or green herbs; they burn nothing; cook no meal; and when hungry, they go into the houses of the Hindus, and accept some food, but no flesh of any sort of animal. When one of them is about to die, he is asked: "Shall we burn thy body, or "throw it into the water, or bury it in the earth?" Whichever he desires is done.

Another sect is that of the *Dádu Panthians*. Dádu was one of the cotton carders in the village Naráina, in the district of Marwar. In the time of the Padshah Akbár (who inhabits heaven!) Dádu devoted himself to the state of a Durvesh, and assembled many disciples about him. He prohibited his followers to worship idols, to eat the flesh of any animal, or to hurt any living being; but he did not order them to abandon woman and wife, or to withdraw from all business of the world; but he left it free to any one to give up, or to cultivate, the connection and intercourse with men. When one of them dies, they place his corpse upon the back of a quadruped, and send it into the desert, saying: "It "is now better that rapacious and other animals may be satiated with it."

The *Piára panthián* hold their creed from *Bábá*

Púra; at the time of begging, they stand before the shops and houses, without looking at any body or saying any thing; they demand nothing with the tongue; they accept what is given, and go away when nothing is offered. The Mobed says:

> " The demand without the tongue is made by the eyes;
> " How can that which is heard be equivalent to what is seen?"

They take no notice of the Muselmans, although they so call themselves.

The sect of the Vishnavas follow the doctrine of Gosáin Jáni. We hold the information from Jogendas, that they called their master *Jehan*, and his followers, composed of Hindus and Muselmans, adopted the creed of Vishnavi. This is as follows: they hurt no living being; they avoid fellowship with men of another creed among the Hindus and Muselmans; they pray five times a-day, with their face towards the east; they have the names of God, of the divinities, of the prophet upon their lips, such as *Allah, Mikáil, Jzráil, Jibrail, Muhammed, Jl*, and others; they bury their dead; they confer benefits upon others to the extent of their power; a number of their Durvishes pretend to be afflicted with maladies and beg alms, and whatever they so collect they distribute to the blind and lame, and to people of that description.

Further to be noticed is the sect of the *Surya-mak-*

han,[1] that is, of "the worshippers of the sun." These derive their origin from an ancient nation of Hindus, and are divided into two classes. The one of them says: The great luminary is one of the divinities of the first rank; he has *átmá* and *buddhi*, that is, "soul and intellect;" the light of the stars and the splendor of the universe proceeds from him; he is the *asht bhuvana loka*,[2] that is, "the ori- "gin of the eight worlds," and of all earthly beings; the *sarva prabhá deva*,[3] "the God of all radiance," the chief and ruler of all divinities, the deity of heavens, the king of the stars; the *Mahajyóti*,[4] or "the "great light," worthy of praise; and of *namaskara*,[5] that is "respectful salutation," and of adoration; and of *hóm*, or "sacrificial perfumes." When the sun rises with his pure body, they stand opposite to him, and after adoration recite a Sanskrit prayer, the paraphrase of which is as follows:[6] "Whatever

[1] सूर्य मखाः

[2] अष्ट भुवन लोकः

[3] सर्व प्रभादेव.

[4] महाज्योतिः

[5] नमस्कारः

[5] The Dabistán (p. 269, edit. of Calc.) affords a curious specimen of a Sanskrit prayer transcribed in Persian characters; this prayer is here restored to its original form in Devanagari. The literal translation of it, subjoined, shows that it is composed of a series of epithets encomiastical of the sun; these epithets have been most freely amplified in the para-

" beautiful light and high splendor thou possessest
" overflows the eyes from the excessive bounty of
" thy manifestation; thou art that light which is
" not surpassed by any other in the display of
" splendors; thine is the first prayer, for thou art
" the substitute of God, and we place our hope in
" thy bounty; to thee we address the prayers of our
" wants, that we may experience and loudly pro-
" claim thy mercy. When this light is thy face,
" whatever we can say of the splendor, the beauty,
" and perfection of the supreme intellectual soul and
" of the pure wisdom, is but that one light which
" we recognise above in thy bountiful being, which
" thou temperest and displayest; this light derives
" its glory from thee, and supplication is due to this
" light. Give us thy assistance in the abnegation

phrase which the author of the Dabistán has given of the original prayer:

महज्योतिः उत्तमोदयः नृस्त्राद्ः लोकनः आहारः सुदर्शनः दृष्टिः मिथनः महावतारः उत्तमप्रकासः पथ्यो स्मरणः महादातामुक्तसङ्गः आत्मदाता शरीरज्योतिः स्व आत्म बुधनाथः सर्व ज्योतिः आतपः प्रकाशः औपमिकः स्वर्ग दाता देवसहायः

" *Thou art* the great light—most gloriously rising—the delight
" of men—resplendent—*granter of* food—agreeable to sight—the
" eye *of heaven*—the promoter of union—the great incarnation—
" the most excellent manifestation—mindful of the earth—the chief
" bestower of the devotion to emancipation—the dispenser of life
" —the light of bodies—the lord of intellect and of interior life—
" all illuming—the radiance of the day—the effulgency—the su-
" preme light—only like thyself—the donor of heaven—the compa-
" nion of the gods."

" of worldly pleasures; render us equal to thyself " in the purity of light, and by thy knowledge " grant us union with thee; the wish of all virtu- " ous hearts is, that they may, far removed from " all sensual delights, be made happy in the com- " munion with those who are like thee: we aban- " don all worldly delights, that we may become " similar to thee in splendor, and arrive to thee, and " remain with thee."

The other class of the *Suryamakhan* say: Whatever exists in the *Swargaloka*[1] and in the *Bhúloka*,[2] that is, in the upper and lower world, draws its origin from the sovereign great luminary; by his glorious appearance we fill our *lojáni*,[3] or " eyes," with *kalyanum*,[4] or " auspicious light;" and we hear the *Sanákáras*,[5] that is, the incorporeal beings;" by him we acquire *buddhi*, that is " intellect," the professor of which attaches his heart to nothing exterior: on that account they call the sun *natha*, " a " sovereign, or divine being," and pay worship to him. Both classes abstain from hurting living

[1] स्वर्ग लोकः heaven.

[2] भूर्लोकः

[3] लोचानि.

[4] कल्याणं.

[5] The Dict. gives only सनकाः and सनत्कुमाराः the four sons of Brahma, inhabiting the Janaloka.

beings, and are on that account called *jiva dayá*,[1] "compassionate of life;" they do good to others as much as they can, wherefore they are termed *punyavantas*,[2] "virtuous;" they keep far away from falsehood and iniquity, for which they are entitled *dharmamayás*,[3] "righteous." The *grihastha*, or "house-holder," contents himself with one *stri*,[4] or "wife." They divide the sun into several parts, which they call *dyuvá murtayas*,[5] "figures of the sun;" but the first class reckons among the *Pandits*, or "learned," an order of men who have a system about *ákása*,[6] "ether," *girayas*,[7] "mountains," *tárá phal*,[8] "starry firmament;" about the rising of heavenly bodies and the prognostics which are connected with them; they possess perfectly the canons of the *Véda anga*, "sacred science," in which the medical is comprised; and they set a great value upon *buddhi*, "intellect;" and *dharanam*,[9] that is, "the applica-

[1] जीव दय.

[2] पुण्यवन्तस्.

[3] धर्ममयास्.

[4] स्त्री.

[5] युव मूर्तयस्.

[6] आकाश.

[7] गिरयस्.

[8] तारा फलं also तारा पथ: *tara patha*.

[9] आहरणं means literally "taking, seizing;" in logical language,

" tion of the thinking faculty ;" and they say, that this is the mediator between what is *sankhyanam*,[1] " rational," or probable, and *sadhanam*,[2] " substan- " tiated," which last is the form of things perceived ; and the right appreciation of probabilities is attained by dint of *buddhi* and *aharanam*, that is, by high intelligence ; this is fixing the thought of contemplation ; or arriving at the science of what is perceived and what is probable or rational ; this comprehends properly two sciences which are possessed by the *jitèndriya loka*,[3] that is, " by those " sages who have subdued the senses."

There is a class of durvishes who practise *tapasya*,[4] or " devout austerity," and who, by great and difficult penances, banish every illusion from them, so that in their sleep they may not have unbecoming

" compassing, comprehending," that is applying an organ to the object to which it is adopted. This is the special function of the organs or instruments of action. We have (see note, p. 122) enumerated " intel- " ligence, egotism, and mind ;" these are the three internal organs ; and " five organs of perception, with five organs of action," the ten external organs. Those of action, *compass*, and *maintain* ; those of perception, *manifest* : therefore " compassing, maintaining, and manifesting," are the functions of the thirteen-fold instrument—(See the work quoted, *Sank'hya Karika*, 32. p. 110).

[1] सङ्ख्यानं.

[2] साधन.

[3] जितेन्द्रिय लोक.

[4] तपस्या.

dreams, which they say are produced by the influence of the imagination; and they guard their eyes from the wounds and impressions which also proceed from the imagination. They climb up to the tops of walls, without fear of falling down, and go to such places as are not easily accessible, which they say is a triumph over illusion; they pretend to have the power to cause rain to fall or to cease; to attract whomever they like, and to render him obedient to their will; to give information of whatever is concealed, and to reveal the secrets of the heart; to possess the knowledge of the good and the bad hidden in the minds; as well as that of the relations and history of the world; and upon the mirror of their hearts are reflected the lights of secrets, the *djoti mandalam*,[1] "the splendor of the "universe." When a misfortune happens, all the pious men assemble and hold council about the removal of it; they investigate the strange and astonishing events; they keep day and night their eyes shut, and, pondering, exercise their sagacity: these are called *Dhyani*.[2] Those who are not occupied with exterior things are called *tyagî*,[3] and others who shun all intercourse with women and have no

[1] ज्योति मण्डलं.

[2] ध्यानी.

[3] त्यागी.

wife, take the title of *Yatis;* and there is a class who, with the same abnegation as the former, never mix with the people of the world, and never ask more from them than a small quantity of food: these are called *Vaîragîs,*[1] or *Udasîs.*[2] Others live in deserts and upon mountains, satisfied with fruits; the savage animals do them no harm; they are named *Vanyasîs.*[3] When, among them, a child is born or a marriage takes place in the house of a family-man, they do not offer him their congratulation; and when a misfortune occurs, such as the death of a friend, they do not grieve or take mourning. A desire for generation, and a relish for meat and drink, inasmuch as may be requisite, is permitted, but beyond this prohibited; and whoever desires more is excluded from their society. This order of men among them is called *Grihasta;* another division of them is formed by the *Avachhâta,*[4] "emaciated by abstinence," who are the adepts of this sect; if I were to relate every thing of them, several volumes would not be sufficient to contain my account.

In the Nababship of Kalinga exists a sect called *Sûrwar* (Sûryar), and another entitled *Gundwar.*

[1] वैरागी:
[2] उदासी:
[3] वन्यासी:
[4] अवछात:

They pay no tribute to any body; they worship the sun; from simplicity, they prefer brass and copper to gold, on account of bad smell. When one of them dies, they seize a stranger and kill him. They say that, as the Rái (prince) of Gund sits upon the ground, the lower people sit upon chairs, he being the lord of the earth and the others are not so.

The *Chandra bakta*,[1] or "worshippers of the "moon," call this planet one of the principal divinities, worthy of adoration and of worship; the regulation of the nether world is committed to his care; by the increase and decrease of the light of this heavenly body, the hours of night and day may be known; after the sun it is the greatest, and borrows its light from this great luminary, the access to which may also be obtained by the moon's mediation.[2] These sectaries form an image of the moon, and worship it as an object of their devotion: they never hurt a sentient being.

Another sect venerates other stars. There is one who pays homage to *Agni*, or fire, and says that

[1] चन्द्र भक्ता:

[2] This passage seems to allude to the Hindu creed about the souls' journey from the earth to the uppermost heaven. According to this, a hundredand one arteries issue from the heart, one of which passes to the crown of the head. By that passage, the soul of the wise issues and meets a solar ray, by which it proceeds to the realm of fire, and by several other stages to the *moon*; thence to the region of lightning, and higher up, through Varuna's watery region, to the realm of Indra, so as to reach at last the abode of Brahma.—(Transact. R. A. Soc., vol. II. pp. 31. 32.)

fire is the pure essence of God, who is the sun himself: these are called *Agni Pramána;*[1] "the profes-"sors of fire." They believe also the other stars proceed from its radiance, and that the earthly fire is an emanation of its rays; they venerate every sort of fire, through the mediation of which they think access to the sun may be obtained.

Another sect, the *Pavana bhakta,*[2] or "worship-"pers of the wind," believe that the substance of God is air, and this also the intellectual soul.

The *Jala bhakta,*[3] or "worshippers of water," hold water to be the representative of the being of God, on which account they pay veneration to the rivers and flowing streams.

The *Prithivi bhakta*[4] are "worshippers of the "earth, which they believe to be the substance of God worthy of their adoration.

Another sect, called *Tripújas,*[5] worship the three kingdoms of nature, in which every place and whatever presents itself to their view, becomes an object of their veneration.

[1] अग्नि प्रमाणा:

[2] पवन भक्ता: :

[3] जल भक्ता:

[4] पृथ्वी भक्ता:

[5] त्रि पूजा:

The *Manushya bhakta*,[1] or "worshippers of man-kind," recognise the being of God in man; they know no being more perfect than mankind, and think that it contains nothing of a bad nature.

A particular sect is to be found in Kashíal, a place in the mountainous province of Kachmir. They worship idols; the son takes the property acquired by his father to himself; but leaves whatever he gains to his sons, so that it may be the firewood belonging to his father that may burn his body. When one of them dies, a barber from without the house goes before the dead, and then brings the message that such a one wants something for a meal, upon which they go to work to prepare it; and this society is kept up for some days; then, they burn the dead; after cremation, they erect over his ashes an image of stone, one half of which is male, and the other female; and when no son of his remains, they marry his wife with a column of the house, and whoever comes upon a visit of condolence, has intercourse with the woman until a son be produced, and to him the inheritance is bestowed. This sect have no regard for the life of animals.

Another sect exists in the mountains of Kachmir, with the name of *Durds*. Among them it is customary for brothers to have but one wife; occasionally they

[1] मनुष्य भक्ता:

sell house, land, wife, and children; whoever buys the house owns all these; they also pawn their wife. Some of them, even when they become Muselmans, still adhere to this custom. They also do not spare animals.

Further to be noticed in Hindostan is the tribe of *Dhaids*, one of the lowest classes of men; they eat every thing but men; they worship the sun. The author of this book met one day in Sikakul, in the district of Kalinga, one of these men, whose name was Nága, and asked him: "Who are the best men "among all the tribes?" The man answered: "The "*Dhaids*," and subjoined: "When they leave the "body, they unite with God; when a Brahman dies, "he becomes a cow; when a Muselman expires, "he is transformed into a plant." I enquired further: "If the Dhaids be so highly favoured by "God, why should they eat every thing which they "find, the flesh of cows, horses, mice, and the like?" The man replied: "It is because God loves this tribe "that he gave them this command: 'Eat whatever "'you like.'"

The *Choharas* are now to be mentioned, known in Hindostan as cleaners of privies and sweepers of the ground; and in the exercise of this profession they visit the houses. They say, their master was Shah Jhuna; he, in one hand a besom of gold, and in the other a basket of silver, cleans now in the

fourth heaven the house of God, and sweeps the apartments of the Highest. This tribe too eat every thing as the Dhaids.

The Nânac-Panthians,[1] who are known as composing the nation of the Sikhs, have neither idols nor temples of idols. *Nânac* belonged to the tribe of Bédians, who are Kshatriyas. His reputation rose in the time of Zehir-ed-din Baber Padshah[2]

[1] Nânac was born A. D. 1469, in a small village called *Talwandi*, now *Raya-pur*, on the banks of the *Béyah*, the ancient *Hyphasis*, in the district of *Bhatti*, in the province of *Lahore*. He was the only son of *Kalu*, of the Kshatriya caste, and the *Vedi* tribe of the Hindus — See vol. XI. of the *As. Res.*, pp. 197-292, edit. Calc. *a Sketch of the Sikhs*, by Brigadier-General Malcolm. The learned author, whilst with the British army in the Penjab, in 1805, collected materials that would throw light upon the history, manners, and religion of the Sikhs. He succeeded in obtaining a copy of the *Adi granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, and of some historical tracts, the most essential parts of which were explained to him in Calcutta, by an intelligent Sikh priest of the *Nirmala* order. Dr. Leyden enriched this stock of materials by supplying the general with a translation of several tracts written by Sikh authors in the Penjabi and Duggar dialects, upon the history and religion of their nation. We may therefore believe we possess quite satisfactory information about the Sikhs in General Malcolm's *Sketch*. I shall mark the references to this work in my notes by G. M. The Dabistán, never quoted in the said *Sketch*, furnishes some additional, and corroborates the principal, information derived from other sources.

[2] Zehir-ed-din Muhammed Baber, the son of Umer Shaigh Mirza, descended on the father's side from the great Tâimur Beg, and on the mother's, from Gengis Khan. He was born A. D. 1483, and succeeded, in the 12th year of his age to his father, as king of Ferghana, a small country between Samarkand and Kashgar. Driven by his enemies from his paternal kingdom, he became the founder of one of the greatest

(who inhabits heaven). Before the victory of this king over the Afghans, Nânac was a grain-factor[1] of Daulet khan Lodi,[2] who ranked among the distinguished Umras of Ibrahim Khan, the sovereign of Hindostan.

A durvish came to to Nânac, and subdued his mind in such a manner that he, Nânac, having entered the granary, gave away the property of Daulet-Khan, and his own, whatever he found there and in his house, and abandoned his wife and children. Daulet Khan was struck with astonish-

empires in the world.—(See *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-din Muhammed Baber, emperor of Hindostan*, written by himself in the Jaghatai Turki, and translated partly by the late John Leyden, Esq., M.D., partly by William Erskine, Esq. London, 1826.)

[1] Nânaki, the sister of Nânac, was married to a Hindu of the name of *Jaya-Ram*, who was employed as a grain-factor of Dâulet Khan Lodi, a relation of the reigning emperor of Delhi. Nânac attended at the granary of Daulet Khan, which was in charge of Jaya-ram, at Sultan-pûr—(G. M. p. 200.)

[2] Dâulet Khan Lodi, an Afghan by birth, was formerly private secretary to Mah-Toghluck, the eighth king of Delhi of the Tartarian dynasty, called Toghluck, which reigned from 1321 to 1412 A. D. At that time Dâulet Khan was placed at the head of the empire, but, at the end of one year and three months, he was obliged to yield his power to Khizer Khan, who founded the dynasty of Sadat, in Delhi. This dynasty, after thirty-eight years, made room for that of the Afghan princes of Lodi. Dâulat Khan established himself in the Penjab. In the general disorders of the empire, this Afghan chief, being attacked by other Afghans, connected himself with Baber, the Tartarian invader of Hindostan, in 1534, against Ibrahim Lodi, the Afghan king of Delhi, and after the victory of Baber, continued to rule the Penjab.

ment at hearing this, but, recognising in Nânac the mark of a durvish, he withheld his hand from hurting him.[1] In a short time Nanac made a great progress in piety; at first he took little nourishment; afterwards he allowed himself but to taste a little cow-milk; next a little oil; then nothing but water, and at last he took nothing but air: such men the Hindus call *pavana haris*.[2]

Nanac had a great number of disciples. He professed the unity of God, which is called the law of Muhammed, and believed the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul from one body to another. Having prohibited his disciples to drink wine and to eat pork, he himself abstained from eating flesh, and ordered not to hurt any living being. After him, this precept was neglected by his followers; but *Arjun mal*, one of the substitutes of his faith, as soon as he found that it was wrong, renewed the prohibition to eat flesh, and said: "This has not been approved "by Nânac." Afterwards, Hargovind, son of Arjunmal, eat flesh, and went to hunt, and his followers imitated his example.

Nanac praised the religion of the Muselmans, as well as the Avatars and the divinities of the Hindus;

[1] Jaya-Rama was put in prison by Dâulet Khan, on the charge of having dissipated his property, but was justified by Nânak's confessions -- (G. M. p. 204).

[2] पवनाहारि "wind-eater."

but he knew that these objects of veneration were created and not creators, and he denied their real descent *from heaven,* and their union *with mankind.* It is said that he wore the rosary of the Muselmans in his hand, and the Zunar, or the religious thread of the Hindus, around his neck.[1] Some of his distinguished disciples report of him more than can here find room.

One of these reports is, that Nanac, being dissatisfied with the Afghans, called the Moghuls into the country, so that in the year 932 of the Hejira (A. D. 1525) Zehir ed-din Baber padshah (who is in heaven) gained the victory over Ibrahim, the king of the Afghans.[2] They say also that Nanac, during one

[1] He was one day lying on the ground with his feet in the direction of the temple of Mecca: "How darest thou, infidel," called out a Muhammedan priest, "turn thy feet towards the house of God?" "How can I "turn them," answered Nânac, "in a direction where the house of God "is not?"—(G. M. p. 274.)

[2] The first expedition which Baber undertook towards India was, according to Ferichta, in 1505; from Cabul, which he had conquered the year before, he pushed to, and along, the Indus. He attempted, later, three times to invade India, namely, in the years 1519, 1521, and 1522; but, being engaged in war, on one side with the Usbeck Tartars, and on the other with the Afghans, he did not completely succeed, till his fourth attempt in 1525, and in 1526 having overthrown Ibrahim Lody, in a great battle near Panniput, he destroyed the Afghan dynasty, three kings of which had reigned 74 years in Delhi. It was probably about this time that Nânac happened to be introduced to Baber, before whom he maintained his doctrine with great firmness and eloquence. The Tartarian conqueror, pleased with the Sikh reformer, ordered an ample maintenance to be

of his journeys,[1] finding himself one night in a fort, was absorbed in a vision of God. Children played around him, and some put their hands upon his body, without any motion being perceived in him; they sewed his eye-lids, his nostrils, and his flesh together, and tied his hands fast. When Nanac recovered his senses, he found himself in this state, and went to a neighbouring house, at the threshold of which he called out: "Ho! is there any body in "the house who may free my eye-lids sewed toge- "ther and my hands?" A handsome woman, having conducted him into the house, untied his hands and tore the threads by which his eye-lids were sewed together with her teeth asunder, on which account the color of the mark of the woman's caste remained upon Nanac's forehead. After his having left the house, the neighbours saw the mark, and supposed his having had an intimate connexion with the woman; wherefore she was abused by the people and repudiated by her husband.

This woman came one day to Nanac, and said: "I

bestowed on him, who refused it, saying, that he trusted in him who provided for all men—(G. M. p. 206).

[1] Nânac (G. M. p. 204) travelled throughout India, and went also to Mecca and Medina, teaching his doctrine every where with a due regard to that of others. He showed great moderation, and even courtesy, in his intercourse with the public teachers of other religions. When he visited in Multan the Muhammedan Pirans, or "old wise men," he said: "I come, like the sacred Ganga to visit the ocean."

" have, upon the way of God, rendered thee a ser-
" vice, and now they revile me for it." Nanac answered: " To-morrow will the gate of the fort " be shut, but shall not be opened unless thou appliest thy hand to it." The next day, in spite of all efforts to open the gate, they could not succeed, and remained in great consternation. Men and beasts, far from water, could not go out to fetch it. The inhabitants addressed themselves to all men who had a reputation for sanctity, but their prayers were in vain. At last they had recourse to Nanac, and said: " O durvish, what is there to be done?" He answered: " The gate shall not be opened except " by the hand of a woman who never lost her virtue " with a stranger." The inhabitants brought all the women who had a reputation for chastity to the gate of the fort, but it remained shut: on that account they sat down hopeless. At the time of evening prayer came at last the friend of Baba Nanac to the gate. The people laughed at her; her husband and her relations were ashamed and abused her. The woman, without listening to the speeches of the people, struck the gate with her hand and it opened. All men were astonished and ashamed: they fell at the feet of the woman.

The *bání*,[1] that is to say the poems, of Nânac, are,

[1] बाणि *ba'ni*, speech.

as it were, perfumed with devotion and wisdom, still more can this be said of his speeches about the grandeur and sanctity of God. All is in the language of the *Jats* of the Panjab, and *Jat* in the dialect of the Penjab, means a villager or a rustic.

Nânac's disciples are not conversant with the Sanscrit language. The precepts and regulations which Nânac established among them will be explained hereafter.

Nânac said in his poems that there are several heavens and earths; and that prophets, and saints, and those that are supposed to have descended from above (avatârs), and persons distinguished by piety, obtain perfection by zeal in the service of God; that whoever devotes himself to the veneration of God, whatever road he may choose, will come to God, and that the means to this is, to avoid hurting any living being."

"Be true and thou shalt be free;
"Truth belongs to thee, and thy success to the Creator."[1]

Nânac left children in the Penj-ab,[2] they are called

[1] "A hundred thousand Muhammeds," said Nânac (G. M. p. 275) "a "million of Brahmas, Vichnus, and a hundred thousand Ramas, stand "at the gate of the most High. These all perish. God alone is immor- "tal. Yet men who unite in the praise of God are not ashamed of living "in contention with each other, which proves that the evil spirit has "subdued all. He alone is a true Hindu whose heart is just, and he "only a good Muhammedan whose life is pure."

[2] Nânac (G. M.) had two sons. There is in our days still a tribe among

Kartaris; but according to the opinion of some, he had no offspring. They say that, after Nánac's decease, his place was by his order occupied by the Guru *Angad,* of the Srín tribe of Kshatriyas; next succeeded the Guru *Amaradas,* of the tribe of the Bholáyí-Kshatriyas; after him came the Guru *Rámadas,* who was of the Sódahí-Kshatriyas, and also called the Srí-guru. Ráma-das, dying, left his dignity to his son *Arjun mal.* During the life of this Guru, the Sikhs, that is to say, his followers grew great in number and in faith. They said, Bábá Nânac is a god, and the world his creation; but Nánac in his poems reckons himself a servant of God, and he calls God *Naránjen* (Naráyana), *Parabrahma,* and *Permaisher* (Paramésvara), who is without a body, and has nothing corporeal, nor deigns to be united with a bodily frame. The Sikhs say that Nánac, in the same manner, had been without a real body, but visible by the power of his individuality,[1] and they believe that, when Nânac expired,[2] his spirit became

the Sikhs, called the Nánac-páutras, or "descendants of Nânac," a mild inoffensive race; if not, as is generally the case, mendicants, they are travelling merchants.

[1] خودیہامی *khudímaní* is the *ahanka'ra* of the Indians, rendered in English by "consciousness, egotism, individuality."

[2] Nânac died in Kirti púr Dehra, on the banks of the Rávi, the ancient Hydraotes of the Greek geographers. Kirti púr continues to be a place of religious pilgrimage and worship.

incarnate in the person of *Angad*,[1] who attended him as his confidential servant. Angad, at his death, transmitted his soul into the body of *Amara das*;[2] and thus Guru, in the same manner, conveyed his spirit into the body of *Ráma-das*;[3] whose soul transmigrated into the person of *Arjunmal*;[4] in short, they believe that, with a mere change of name, Nânac the First became Nânac the Second, and so on, to the Fifth, in the person of Arjunmal. They say, that whoever does not recognise in Arjunmal the

[1] Nânac (G. M. p. 208-9) bequeathed his succession to a Kshatriya of the Tréhun tribe, called Lehana, who had been attached to him, and whom he had initiated in the sacred mysteries of his sect, and honored with the name of *Angad*, perhaps *anga*, which word in Sanskrit signifies "body." This Angad wrote some chapters of the Adi-grant'ha. He died in 1552, at Khandur, a village about 40 miles east of Lahore.

[2] Amaradas (G. M.), a Kshatriya of the tribe of Bhalé, died A. D. 1574, at the village of Gondaval, in the province of Lahore.

[3] Rámadas (G. M.) was the son-in-law of Amaradas; to Rámadas some Sikh authors ascribe the foundation of the town Rámpur, or Rámdáspur, but falsely, as it was a very ancient town, known formerly under the name of Chak. He however contributed much to its increase, and dug a tank or reservoir of water, which is celebrated to our days under the name of *Amrita Sara*, "the lake of the water of immortality." Rámadás died, in 1581, at Amrita Sara, leaving two sons, Arjunmal and Bharatamal, the former of whom succeeded him.

[4] Arjunmal (G. M. p. 212) is celebrated for having compiled the Adi-granth from the writings of his predecessors, not without his own additions and commentaries. Thirteen authors after him contributed to the work as it now is. The Adi-granth is, like the rest of the books of the Sikhs, written in the Gurumukh characters, which are a modified species of the Nagari character. Arjunmal was put to death in 1606, by the intolerance of the Muhammedans.

true Bábá Nânac, is an unbeliever; they have a number of tales about the founder of their sect, and assert that Bábá Nânac, in a former world, was the radja Janak.[1]

When Sakha-daiv (Saha déva),[2] the son of Baiás (Vyasa), a rakhaisher (rakshasa), came to Janak, in order to learn from him the path of God, he found the rája, who had thrown one of his feet into the fire; men on foot and on horseback formed a file; Nawabs and Vizirs were busy about the affairs of the state; elephants and horses presented themselves to the view. Saha dév thought in his mind that such occupations and worldly concerns were unbecoming so pious a man. The rája, who was skilled in penetrating the hearts of others, found it out, and employing the power of magic, he caused fire to fall upon the houses, so that at last all the horses and fine palaces were burnt. The rája seemed neither to hear, nor to see, nor to care any thing about what happened, until the fire reached the house where he and Saha dév were. Janak did not throw one look upon it. The fire fell upon the wooden cup, which

[1] Janaka was a sovereign of Mithila, and father of Sitá, the wife of Rámachandra. The name of Janaka became a general name of all Mâithila kings.

[2] In the Indian genealogies, several Sahadevas are mentioned. As we are evidently upon fabulous ground, we may be excused from attempting to establish that the Sahadeva of the text is the son of Pandu, or another.

they call there *kermandel,*[1] and which Saha dév used for drinking water. He now, senseless, jumped from his place, and took hold of his kermandel. The rája smiled, and said to him: "All my people, "and all this, my property, were burnt; my heart "was not bound to them; wherefore I let them "be consumed, and feel no pain about them; but "thou, on account of thy kermandel, jumpedst "senseless from thy place. It is now clear whose "heart is bound to the things of this world." Saha dèv was ashamed of his having been disturbed. This tale was heard from the followers of Nânac.

The history of Janak and of Saha dév is contained in the *Jog bashest,*[2] which is one of the principal books of the Hindus, in the following manner: Bisvámiter (Vis'vamitra)[3] in presence of the Rakshasas addressed this speech to Ráma chander: "O "Rama chander, venerate thy father and mother; "thou who issuedst from them so beautiful, thou "hast accomplished thy task; by the goodness of

[1] Probably कर् मण्डलं *kara mandalam,* from *kara,* "hand," and *mandalam,* "an orb, a round cup."

[2] I have not yet ascertained the correct Sanskrit title of this book of the Hindus; but *Bashest* is Vasishta, a celebrated Muni, who rivalled and vanquished Visvamitra.

[3] Visvamitra, a Muni, the son of Gádhi, originally of the military order, but who became by long and painful austerities a Brahmarshi, in which character he appears in the Rámáyaná, as the early preceptor and counsellor of Ráma.

" thy nature and by the purity of thy character,
" thou hast polished the mirror of thy heart, and
" given it such a brightness, that the perfection o
" God is manifest in it; the success which a zealous
" disciple obtains, after many difficulties and pious
" exercises under the direction and instruction of a
" Rakshasa, during a long period of time, that suc-
" cess became thy share without trouble; thine
" became the science to be acquired; and thine is,
" even in this life, the emancipation in the form of
" Saha dèv, the son of Vyása. He, thy father,
" on account of the excellence of his pure form and
" of his divine nature, having come forth wise from
" the womb of his mother, without any assistance
" manifested his perfection, and on account of the
" clearness of his intellect, whatever on the way of
" his journey, was accessible to wisdom and excel-
" lence, was open to his looks, and no veil nor curtain
" remained before him; nevertheless, even with
" such advantages, he was inquisitive with Rakśha-
" sas and wise men in matters of theology, so that
" these personages, or pious penitents, gave him
" directions and lessons, and offered him their advice
" with alacrity. Thus am I ready to give thee some
" instruction, and communicate some precepts of
" wisdom to thee." Therefore Rámachander in-
quired of Visvámiter: " As Saha dèv brought the
" full measure of wisdom from the body of his mo-

" ther, and as his nature was endowed with such " perfection, my prayer is, that you may favor me " with an explicit account of him, and explain to " me by what means he procured to himself the " advice of the wise, and in what manner the Rak- " shasas imparted instruction to him." Visvámiter replied: " O Rama chander, thy condition is as " fortunate as that of Saha dèv; such was his " dignity and excellence, that men, by listening to " his tale, feel themselves emancipated, and are no " more subject to be born again. O Ramachander, " he too was impressed with the idea that in no " condition this world is permanent, but that all " that is seen changes every moment, and passes " from one state to another. One guest arrives and " comes into the world, another dies and goes out " of the world; the one is agitated with distress, " the other is quiet; the one exulting, the other " overcome with grief; in short, whoever and what- " ever exists in this world is liable to change; there " is not the least hope of firmness and steadiness, " and nothing is worthy to bind our hearts. But " that which is firm and steady, deserves that we " attach our hearts to it, and that we perpetually " are mindful of, and fix our thoughts and meditate " upon it. Nothing however is firm and steady but " the pure being of *Brahma*, that is to say, the su- " preme and true entity of God. Moreover, who-

" ever directs his mind solely towards the divinity,
" will attain the knowledge of it, and render him-
" self perfectly free from the desires of the heart,
" and from the pleasures of the body, which tend to
" swell and to fetter the soul. And like the bird
" *Pápîhá*,[1] which is fond of the water which falls
" from the cloud *Náisán*,[2] and does not taste of any
" other liquid from river or well, but thirsting only
" for drops from the cloud Náisan, is taken up with
" the search for them; thus Saha-dév, having
" made himself independent and free from all de-
" sires and allurements, was always immersed in
" the contemplation of Brahma, and having dis-
" solved his own being in the reality of God, he knew
" Brahma, and attained the state of absolute repose
" and quietness. When he thus became a master
" of excellence, and as perfect as other rakshasas,
" then he felt the desire of his heart accomplished,

[1] The Pápîha is believed to be the *falio nisus*, also a kind of cuckoo (*luculus radiatus*); possibly the *cha'taca* of the Hindus, supposed to drink no water but rain-water — (See *Megda duta*, " the Cloud-Mes-
" senger," translated from Sanskrit into English, by H. H. Wilson, Esq., p. 14). The Papîha is celebrated in Indian romance for his fidelity to his mate. Kalá, having been separated from Kamrup (see the Adventures of Kamrup, translated from the Hindustanee into French, by M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 96) says: " Le Papîha erre-t-il dans la forêt sans celle à
" qui l'unit l'amour?"

[2] *Na'isa'n* means a Syrian month, which corresponds to April; the drops of Náisán, or of spring-rain, are believed to produce pearls, if they fall into shells, and venom if they drop upon serpents.

" and with a mind more splendid than the moon of " a fortnight, he passed through the troubles of " life, according to the words of the prophet: " ' With a heavenly mind upon the carpet of " ' eternity.' "

One day, during a pleasure excursion in this world, he happened to reach the mountain Sumair,[1] that is *Alburz*, which in Arabia, is called *Káf*.[2] Upon the top of this mountain, he saw his father Vyása, who in a cavern was occupied with the contemplation of Brahma. Having saluted his father according to the custom of the Hindus, he asked him: " My worthy father, you who possess the knowledge " of the supreme being, inform me in what manner " this knowledge of the unity of God is diffused in " the multitude, in what way the creatures of this " world obtain their forms, to what period their " existence is extended, what is the cause of their " duration, and how their existence happens to be " renewed several times, in order that I may possess " proper notions of the state of this world, and that " I may unravel this mystery to myself."

Vyása, according to the desire of his son, explained the original state of the creation in clear words; but

[1] सुमेरु *Sumêru*, the sacred mountain *Méru*, on the summit of which Brahma resides.

[2] A fabulous mountain, anciently imagined by the Asiatics to surround the world, and to bound the horizon on all sides.

as the mind of the sage was involved in his own thoughts, and occupied with the contemplation of Brahma, he gave only a short account of the creation and of the development of this world to Saha dév, who did not derive an entire satisfaction from it. Vyása knew his thoughts, and said: "O son, "my mind being immersed in the study and in the "contemplation of God, I cannot, for want of time, "impart to thee at present distinctly the account "which thou desirest; but I will put thee in the "way by which thou mayst arrive at the satisfac-"tion of thy heart, and I will send thee to a man "who will gratify thee. Know then, that in the "country of Tirhut[1] is a town called Míthila, and "there resides Janaka, the Rája, who is an excel-"lent man, and possesses incomparable knowledge. "Go to him, and engage him to satisfy thy heart. "He will give thee an explicit account of the crea-"tion of the world from beginning to end." Saha dév, according to the direction of his father, having left him, went into Tirhut, to the town of Mithila. He saw a city populous, and delightfully built; the soldiers content with the Rája, and the rayots (country people) happy and satisfied. Nobody complained at that time of his lot: in the evening every one laid down in his corner, and at day-break attended the

[1] Tyrhoot, a district in the province of Bahar, situated principally between the 27th and 28th degrees of north latitude.

court of Rája Janaka. The guards at the door observed Saha dév, *tapasi*, that is, a pious adorer of God, the son of Vyása, who stood at the gate and asked entrance. The rája Janaka, before he received the report of it, knew from inward knowledge and from the light of his mind, the purpose of Saha-dév's mind; but in order to try his character, and to put his sincerity and his individuality to the test, he took no notice of the appearance of the stranger. Saha-dév, who had come near him, remained there one day and one night. On the next day, Janaka set about his business; the great and the vulgar appeared before him. This day too, and the following eight days and eight nights the rája did not address any question to Saha dév, who remained in his place without saying a word to any body. The eighth day, the rája Janak, when he saw that Saha-dév stood the test by shewing the mark of excellence and betraying no unsteadiness, he ordered that the stranger should be introduced into the interior of the palace and into the private apartments. Beforehand, he enjoined the maids of the bed-chamber and all the people of the palace that, on Saha-dév's arrival, they should place before him all sorts of exquisite viands and agreeable perfumes, and whatever might allure the mind, and that they should endeavour to fascinate and to madden him. When Saha dév, by order of the rája Janaka, had entered

the private apartments, handsome women brought before him from all sides delicious meats, and garments, and every thing that was attracting, and showed him great respect; after humble prostrations, they placed him in an elegant apartment. During other seven days and nights the rája did not appear before him. The people of the inner apartments, according to the rája's orders, did what they could in a thousand different ways to please him: they approached him, clasped their hands with his, rubbed his hands and feet; they served and tempted him by four principal means, namely: first, by the splendour of handsome maids; secondly, by offering him whatever may charm the senses; thirdly, by tokens of respect, and fourthly, by rubbing his hands and feet. Their intent was, if there remained any human feeling in him, to rouse it up. Saha dév, like a mountain that is not moved by any wind, stood firm; he took notice of nothing, and threw not even a look upon the beautiful moon-faced damsels about him. The rája Janaka, when informed that not the least trace of human feeling, lust, or desire had remained in the young man, and that he had freed himself from the fetters of error and sensuality, ran without hesitation from the place where he was, and touched the feet of Saha dév, saying: "Be thou happy, O rakshasa! who art united with "the supreme spirit, and in whom has remained

" no trace of the qualities of water, earth, and of " human nature, thou, who hast acquired what- " ever may be desirable to thy regeneration : for " thou possessest the knowledge of God. Now, " tell me, with what intention didst thou come to " me, and what dost thou expect from our meeting?" Saha dév replied to the rája: " My intention in " coming here was to obtain from thee a true ac- " count of the creation ; in what manner this world " came forth from the unity of the divine being, " and how from him, the One, proceeded the duality " and multiplicity of forms. Explain this to me, " and impress it distinctly upon my mind. Although " I received from my father some true notion of the " creation of this world, and although, from the " interior light and from the purity of heart which " I have acquired by my devotion, the truth of the " great question presents itself to my mind, yet I " desire instruction from thee, and hope to receive " it from thy tongue." The rája Janak revealed to Saha dév, according to his wish, the history of the creation of the world. After that Saha dév said again to the rája: " O king! it is certain that between " steady, wise, and learned men there is no contra- " diction ; so does the account of the origin of the " world, which I have heard from my father Vyása, " and which I have well impressed upon my mind, " agree with that which thy tongue has communi-

" cated to me. The substance of it is, that the crea-
" tion of the world and the existence of its inhabi-
" tants took place by the will and by the disposition
" of Brahma, and according to the purpose of the
" supreme being, and that, when it is the desire of
" Brahma, the world is created, and when the
" supreme being finds it right to withdraw himself
" from the circle of beings, the world returns to
" nothing, and its inhabitants are again enveloped
" with the veil of nothingness and voidness, and
" nothing remains but God. In like manner is the
" existence of all bodies connected with the will of
" the divine spirit, so that every being in dependence
" upon this will, and in conformity with the prin-
" ciples of its own nature, each time comes into,
" and goes out of, the world, or is born and dies.
" It is when the worldly desires, connections, and
" concerns are annihilated, that a man no more
" returns to nor leaves this world; birth and death
" upon this earth no more concern him, because the
" ties formed by his desires are broken." Saha dév continued: " O rája, what thou hast said, is im-
" pressed upon my mind; but tell me, if there
" remains any thing, however minute it may be, of
" the account of this world; this too I wish to
" hear." The rája Janaka said: " The account of
" the world is such as thou hast heard. That holy
" being, without a name, without a mark, without

" an equal, is pure and free from lust and desire, " and his providence brings forth this world. He, " the one perfect being, in what a multitude of " beings does he not manifest himself! And if he " removes from this creation the support of his will " and of his providence, nothing remains but him- " self - the only being. O Saha dév, thou who hast " purified thy heart from the attachments of this " body, and liberated it from all desires and seduc- " tive propensities, thou hast convinced thyself of " the truth that, whatever appears before our eyes, " is nothing, and has neither reality nor substance; " what was to be performed, thou hast accomplished " it; what was to be known, thou hast acquired it, " and thou hast proved thyself true; on that ac- " count thou art, even in thy life-time, possessed of " *mukt* (emancipation); that is to say: as a person, " when the soul has left his body, is freed from the " want of aliment, so hast thou, although still in " the state of life and health, been liberated from all " bodily wants.[1] Happy be thy life! blessed be thy " age, O Saha dév!"

Vis'vamitra continued: " O Ramachander, thou " hast acquired the same knowledge as Saha dév;

[1] The author of the Dabistán adds here the following words: " And " such a person is called in *Persian* ' a freeman, in the state of higher " ' freedom;' " he forgets that the conversation takes place between two *Indian* sages.

" in the same manner as he abandoned all desires,
" subdued all the appetites of his five senses, and
" possessed perfect freedom, in the same manner
" thou must not permit any sort of desire to enter
" in thy heart.[1] There is no other means of *mukt*
" but this: to this thou must tend."[2]

After that he addressed the rakshasas and all those who were present, in the following speech: " O
" rakshasas! and you who seek the road of God,
" know that, as Ramachander, by the purity of his
" nature and by the goodness of his disposition,
" raised himself to the highest dignity, not less
" ought to be the excellence of all the wise who are
" destined to the acquisition of *mukt*; thirsting for
" the knowledge of the highest, they ought to listen
" to the speeches of all those who devote themselves
" to God; nay, the truth and the faith, which Rama-
" chander possessed, ought to be common, and
" productive of the same consolation and tranquil-
" lity to all those who, not in vain, aspire to wis-
" dom and sanctity. I have imparted to Rama-
" chander what I knew to be the best; now is the
" time of *Bashest* (Vasishta), who attained such a
" perfection of a rakshasa, that nothing that is, was,

[1] The author amplifies this idea, so often repeated, here again in four lines, which I did not think necessary to translate.

[2] A similar repetition, running through three lines in nearly the same words, is omitted in this translation.

" and will be, is concealed to him, and he has no " equal in the world." So far goes the text of *Jog bahest.*"[1]

The Guru Nánac, according to the belief of his followers, was in former times the rája called Janak, and united the dignity of a king with that of a saint. He called mankind to God. The author of this work heard from distinguished Sikhs that, when Bába Nánac appeared in the Sat-jog, a great number of Sikhs assembled around him. He sent a cow into the kitchen. When prepared, it was brought into the assembly; some ate of it, others were afraid to do so. The Guru prayed to God that the cow might rise again, and all those who had been afraid, beholding this miracle, approached him praying: " Now we shall eat whatever you order." Nánac answered: " Not now be it so: mine and your " engagement prevails in the Trèta-Jog." Afterwards, at the revolution of the Trèta-jog, the Guru appeared. The disciples assembled; then a slaughtered horse was brought into the assembly in the manner before said. Some ate of it; others abstained from it. The Guru prayed, and the horse was brought to life. Those who had been afraid prayed as before. He replied again: " Your word and mine are engaged

[1] The philosophy of the Hindus has been more fully explained in the foregoing chapters, to which several passages of the present section relate.

" for the Dwápar-jog." In this age they brought a slaughtered elephant into the assembly of his followers. The same happened as I said before, and he appointed them for the Kali-jog. In this age, they say, a man was brought into the assembly; whoever ate, became free; who abstained from it, remained subject to durance, and some of the Sikhs call Nánac the slave of God.

It is also related that, when Nânac died, in the Sat-jog, two roads opened before his soul: the one led to heaven, the other to hell. Nânac chose the latter, and having descended below, he brought all the inhabitants out of hell. The Lord God said to him: " These sinners cannot enter heaven; you " must return into the world and liberate them." On that account Nânac came to this world, and his followers are the former inhabitants of hell; the Guru comes and goes, until that multitude shall have found their salvation.

Except the zealots among the Sikhs, no man else believes Bábá Nânac a god. As to the rest, Nânac's followers condemn idolatry, and believe that all their Gurus are Nânacs, as was said before. They do not recite the mantras of the Hindus, they do not venerate their temples, nor do they esteem their Avatárs. The Sanscrit language, which according to the Hindus is the language of the gods, is not held in such great estimation by the Sikhs. Whatever it be,

the number of these sectaries increased every where, so that, in the time of the Guru Arjunmal it became very considerable, and at last there was no place in any country where Sikhs were not to be found. They make no difference between Brahmans and Kshatriyas, for Nànac was a Kshatriya, and none of their Gurus was a Brahman, as stated above. Thus they subjected the Kshatriyas to the tribe of Jats,[1] who are an inferior caste of Baisas (Vis'as). The deputies of the Gurus are besides frequently Jats. They honour equally Brahmans and Ksha-

[1] The Jats inhabited in very ancient times the borders of the Indus in the lower parts of Multan. There they were known to the Greek and Latin writers, under the name of Calhæi, Malli, Oxidracæ, as being without a king, "*arattas*," and divided into seven communities, who, united by a common danger, resisted Alexander. In the same country they opposed, 1300 years after the Macedonian invader, the irruption of Sultan Muhammed, the Ghaznavid, by whom they were beaten near Multan on the Indus. Inhabitants of mountains as well as of plains, they acted a part in the many wars which took place on the western frontiers of India, either as predatory hordes, or as allies, or as mercenaries of the belligerant parties. During the ensuing disorders of the Indian empire, they extended themselves towards the east of India, and became masters of the mountainous district which is limited, on the east, by the rivers Thambul and Jumna; on the west, by the kingdom of Jàipur, which to the south extends as far as twenty coss from Agra; and to the north borders on the province of Delhi. It is not necessary to pursue here the history of the Jats in all its various vicissitudes; I shall only add that, in the year 1707, Thuraman, one of their leaders, laid the foundation of the fortress of Bhurtpúr, 20 miles N. W. from Agra, and that this became celebrated, to our days, as the capital seat of the Jats. They are Hindus of the fourth great caste of Sudras.

triyas. The Guru is chosen at the discretion of his followers. It should be known that, in the time of the Afghan sultans, the Umras were called successors or deputies of Ali; finally, for the sake of brevity, the name of deputy (masnad) alone was used by the Hindus. The Sikhs call *masnad*, and also *Rámadas*, the Guru whom they esteem as a king of the true faith.

Before the fifth period no tribute was exacted from the Sikhs, but presents were given by them according to their own discretion, to their Gurus. Arjunmal sent in his time a person to the Sikhs of each town in order to collect a tribute; in that manner, the Sikhs accustomed themselves to the government of a masnad, or deputy. Their principal deputies, of whom there was a great number, elected on their part deputies, so that such substitutes were to be found in every place. The Sikhs created their Gurus, and established that an *audasi*,[1] or one that has abandoned the world, is not to be esteemed higher than any other man. On that account, some of their Gurus are inclined to agriculture, others to commerce, and to various trades and occupations. Each of them brings every year something, according

[1] उदासी, *uda'si'*, one who has no passion, nor affection for any thing; in popular acceptation, a religious mendicant in general, or one of a particular order.

to his means, to his Guru; the deputy receives a present without exacting it; others collect what is destined every year to the deputy, and deliver it to the chief man of the Guru, who disposes of it for his own maintenance and for other contingencies; no body incurs blame on account of presents (or contributions): being raised from all quarters, they are forwarded to the Guru.

In the month of February, when the sun is in the sign of the Bull, the subordinate Gurus come to their chief with those of their followers who choose to accompany them. At the time of taking leave, each receives a turban as a present from the deputy.

Having recorded truly something of the Sikhs in general, I will now give an account of the chiefs of this tribe whom I have known myself. In the sixth period lived Sri Guru Har-govind, the son of the Guru Arjun mal. The Padshah Nur-ed-din Jehangir,[1] now an inhabitant of heaven, called to his court Arjun-mal, on account of his having offered prayers for the king's son Khusro, who had rebelled against his father. Khusro having been taken, the king ordered the imprisonment of Arjun-mal, and wanted to extort a large sum of money from him. The Guru was helpless; they kept him a prisoner in the sandy country of Lahore, until he died of the

[1] The reign of Jehangir lasted from A. D. 1605 to 1628.

heat of the sun and of ill treatment. This happened in the year 1015 of the Hejira (A. D. 1606).[1] In like manner the king banished from Hindostan the Shaikh Nezam Thánasír, because he had been connected with, and had prayed for, his son Khusro.

After Arjunmal followed his brother Baratha,[2] whom his followers called "the benevolent Guru." Now, in the year 1055 of the Hejira (A. D. 1645), the Guru *Harjayi* occupies his place. They both professed the adoration of one God. The disciples of the Guru Har-govind, son of Arjunmal, called these Gurus Mainá (مینا)[3] which among them is an oprobrious name. After the decease of Arjunmal, his son, Har-govind, also made pretensions to the khalifat (deputyship), and obtained the place of his father.[4] Hargovind was always attached to the

[1] This date agrees with that given by Ferishta of the rebellion and the imprisonment of Khusro.

[2] According to the Sketch of the Sikhs by General Malcolm, Arjunmal was immediately succeeded by his son Har-govind, whilst the Dabistán mentions his brother as his successor. There appears an hiatus, or some confusion in our text; so much however is indicated clearly enough, that there was a contest about the succession between the brother and the son of Arjunmal.

[3] The dictionary gives no satisfactory interpretation of the word, as relating to the text.

[4] Har-govind (G. M. p. 213) was a warlike Guru, or priest militant, and wore two swords in his girdle. Being asked why he did so: "The one," said he, "is to revenge the death of my father; the other to destroy the a" miracles of Muhammed." His character appears in the Dabistán less dvantageously with respect to the religious customs of his sect, from the

stirrup of the victorious Jehangir. He became involved in many difficulties; one of them was, that he appropriated to himself the pay due to the soldiers in advance; he carried also the sword against his father; he kept besides many servants, and was addicted to hunting. Jehangir, on account of the money due to the army, and of the mulct imposed upon Arjunmal (as was said before), sent Har-govind to the fort of Gwalior,[1] where he remained imprisoned twelve years. He was not permitted to eat a good meal. During that time the deputies and other Sikhs used to come and bow before the walls of the fort. At last, moved by pity, the king granted him liberty. After Jehangir's death, Har-govind entered the service of his majesty Amír-ul Múnenîn Abu-ul-muzafer shaháb ed-din Muhammed saheb Keran sani shah Jehan, the victorious king. When the Guru returned to Batnesh, which is a district of the Penjab, he attached himself to Yar Khan, the eunuch, who held the office of a Foujdar[2] in the Nawabí of the Penjab, and whom he assisted in the administration. Har-govind returned to Rámadas-

austerity of which he is said to have greatly relaxed, and he permitted the promiscuous use of flesh of all animals except that of the cow: his military character however is maintained in all accounts of him.

[1] Gwalior is situated in the province of Agra, eighty miles travelling distance south from the city of Agra.

[2] Foujdar, an officer of the police in Hindostan, and chief magistrate, who takes cognizance of all criminal matters.

púr, where the Gurus Rámadas and Arjun-mal had built great edifices and dug tanks. There he sustained an attack of the army which Shah jehan, the shadow of God, sent against him, and the Guru's property was then plundered. From thence he fled to Kartarpúr; there too war reached him, and on this occasion Mír Badherah, and Páindah Khan, the son of Fattah Khan Ganáida, found their death. Before and after this, he encountered great dangers of war, but with the aid of God he escaped unhurt, although he lost his property. It is related by one, Sadah by name, that in this war a man aimed a blow at the Guru, who parried it, and struck him with his blade, saying: "Not in that manner, but so the "sword is used;" and with one blow he made an end of his foe. One of the companions of the Guru asked the author of this work: "What was the "purport of the words by which the Guru accom-"panied his blow?" I said: "It was to give "instruction, as it belongs to a Guru to teach also "how to strike a blow with a sword; for a Guru is "called a teacher: he did not strike out of anger, "which would have been blameable." At last he retired from the war of Kartarpúr to Bhagwárah, and because there, in the vicinity of Lahore, he met with difficulties, he betook himself from thence in haste to Gerait púr, which lies in the mountainous district of the Penjab, and was then dependent upon

the rája Tárachand, who had never paid homage to the pádsháh Shah Jehan. The inhabitants of this country adore idols. Upon the summit of a fortified mountain, they raised an image of the Déva, named *Nâina* (Naráyana). Rájas and other eminent persons made pilgrimages to this place. At the time when the Guru came there, one of the Sikhs, called Bhairo, who accompanied him, entered the temple and struck off the nose of the idol. The rájas, having been informed of it, came to the Guru to complain of the act, and named the man who did it. The Guru called Bhairo before him. The Sikh denied the deed. The servants of the rájas declared: "We "know the man." He replied: "O rájas, ask you "the god: if he tells you my name, kill me." The rájas said: : "You blockhead! how shall the god "speak?" Bhairo laughed and answered: "Now "it is clear who is the blockhead: if the god cannot "defend his head, nor point out the man who struck "him, what benefit do you expect from him, and "why do you venerate his strength?" The rájas remained silent and confounded. From this time, the disciples of the Guru increased considerably, and in this mountainous country, as far as the frontiers of Thibet and Khota, the name of Muselman was not heard.

The author of this work heard what follows from the tongue of Guru Har-govind: "A mighty rája

" exists in the north of this mountainous country. " One day he sent me an ambassador who asked " information, saying: ' I have heard that there " ' is a town named Delhi; what is the name of its " ' rája, and whose son is he?' I was astonished to " hear that he did not know even the name of Amír " ul Múmenín saheb Karan sáni (Jehangír)." The Guru had eight hundred horses in his stable, three hundred troopers on horseback, and sixty men with fire-arms were always in his service. Among these some carried on commerce, and other trades and occupations. Whoever was a fugitive from his home took refuge with him.

The Guru believed but one God. A person desired from him some account of the creation and the constitution of this world. The Guru said: " The " universe is an appearance without reality, and an " unsubstantial manifestation of God, the highest " being; and all bodies, as well as gods, are an " idle illusion. I will tell thee, said he, a story " of old times: There was a king who went to hunt " the *hátah jori*, which in the Turkish language " is called *kamer ghah*, and in Persian *barah shikar*, " ' a fawn of the chace.' A deer came into the " circle of the hunting party. The king said: ' On " ' whose side the deer will come forth, let him not " ' return before me until he has taken it with his " ' hand.' By fate, the animal came out on the side

" of the king. Khusro run after it until he was far
" from the army, and reached a place where, on
" account of thick wood, he could not find a path.
" The king was glad to think the deer would now
" return towards him; but when he came near it,
" there was a small opening through which the
" game escaped. The king sharply pushed on his
" horse, which, contracting itself, passed through
" the thicket; but the pádsháh was taken by two
" branches, and his arms and feet fastened so as
" if it had been purposely brought about. He
" remained two days in such a state, until two
" persons, a man and a woman, who were gather-
" ing wood, arrived near him. The woman said
" to her husband: ' Look! the king has hanged
" a thief.' The man replied: ' This is not a place
" ' for hanging; we must examine it nearer.'
" When they had approached, they saw and recog-
" nised the king, and said to each other: ' If we
" ' release him, it will be of use to us.' The woman
" observed: ' He is the king; once made free, what
" ' advantage will he grant us for it? If he pro-
" ' mises to marry our daughter, we will release
" ' him.' They said so to the king, who promised
" what they desired. After that, they liberated
" him, brought him to their house, and gave him
" their daughter. He remained there some time,
" and then joined his army. When he wanted to

" enter his palace, the door-keeper struck him with " his stick; the king was seized with a trembling " and awoke. He saw the high throne and the " servants before him waiting for his orders. By " this dream he was aroused from the emptiness of " his illusion; he knew that the world is but an " appearance without reality; and that, whatever " we experience, being awake, is likewise nothing " more than a dream. He found that the diversity " of forms and of distinct bodies is but an image of " existence, and that in truth there is but one real " being, one praiseworthy, and raised above all " others by superlative excellence."

One of the Brahmans was called Déva, and counted himself among the wise. He visited the Guru, and seated himself one day upon the bed of Bába Jév, who was the son of a Guru. The people said: " Do not sit there." He asked: " Why not?" They answered: " This is the place of the Guru." He said: " Is perhaps the figure of a Guru not that " of a man, or have I not a rational soul manifest in " me? or can I not enjoy what another eats or " drinks?" This speech came to the ears of the Guru Hargovind. He called that man before him, and said: " O Déva! is not the whole world but " one being?" He replied: " It is." The Guru pointed to an ass, and asked: " Do you know what " this is?" Déva replied: " You are one with God,

" therefore you are also this." The Guru laughed, and was not at all angry. Déva wished to marry his own sister ; the people said : " This is forbid- " den." He answered : " If it were forbidden, the " junction of the sexual parts would be impossible. " Thus, because it is not God's will that we should " rise up in the air, he withheld from us the faculty " of flying."

The Sikhs venerated the Guru Har-govind as a god, and believed that he has passed through six incarnations. Perah Kaivan, a Yazdanian, was moved by the reputatation of the Guru, and came to visit him.

The Guru recognised him, and showed him great respect. Upon that account Perah Kaivan left him. A week had scarcely passed after he was gone, when Har-govind died, on a Sunday, the third day of the Moherram, in the year 1055 of the Hejirah (A. D. 1645). When they had placed his corpse upon the pyre, and when the fire rose up in high flames, a ràjapút called Rájarama, who had been his servant, precipitated himself into the fire, and walked several paces in the midst of the flames, until he reached the feet of the corpse, and having laid his face upon the soles of the Guru's feet, he did not move until he expired. After him, the son of a Jat, who was in the service of Har-govind's son-in-law, leaped into the fire. Many other Sikhs wished to follow his

example, but the Guru Har rayi forbade it. Dáulet Khan Kaksal says:

" Of a hundred sayings of my master, I remember one:
" The world never becomes a desert, nor the wine-house a prayer-house.
" What can my soul give more than my heart can bear?
" Whatever the soul gives, and whatever the heart bears, the one and the
" other is god-given."

The Guru Har-govind, in a letter to the author of this work, gave himself the title of Nânac, which was his right distinction. I saw him in the year 1053 of the Hejirah (A. D. 1643) in Kirtpúr. The Guru Har-ráyi was the grandson of the said Guru;[1] his father was Garuta (or Guru daitya), who is known under the name of Bábá Jév. The Guru Har-govind wished first to transmit his place to his son Garuta, or Bábá Jév; but the Guru Nághura, one of the Sikhs, brought his daughter to Bábá Jév. The Bábá wished to send her to his private apartments. His wife, the mother of Har-ráyi, complained of it to Har-govind, her father-in-law, who, having heard her, said to Bábá Jév: " Having given to " Nághura the name of my son, I own him as such, " and his daughter cannot go to you, my son." Nághura refused to take back his daughter; nor would Bábá Jév give her up. The Guru Har-govind then said: " May neither happiness nor success ever " attend this husband and his wife!" Upon that,

[1] Hargovind had five sons, the eldest of whom was Guru daitya, the father of Har ráyi.

the same day, Bábá Jév threw away his nuptial dress, and sent the daughter of the Guru Nághura untouched back to her house. In consequence of this event, Har-govind showed a more particular esteem for his grandson Har-ráyi,[1] the son of Bábá Jév; he gave him the name of his father, Bábá Jév, and appointed him his successor. Invested with this dignity, Har-rayi remained one year in Kirtpúr. When in the year of the Hejirah 1055 (A. D. 1645). Najábet Khan, the son of Sharogh Mirza, by order of the pádsháh Shah-jehan, invaded with an army the land of the rája Tarachand, and made the rája a prisoner, the Guru Har-ráyi betook himself to Thapal, which town is situated in the district of the rája Keramperkás, not far from Sirhind.

The Sikhs call Har-ráyi the seventh Guru. He was a great friend of the author of this work. I will therefore give an account of some among the principal chiefs whom I knew, as well as of some customs of this people. The Sikhs distinguish also the deputies of their Gurus by the name of Rámdais, that is to say, "servants of God, or of an idol." *Jahandas* was one of the pretenders to the dignity of a Guru; he was a man high and proud in his speeches, not agreeable to any, indifferent to good and bad that might happen to him. One day he

[1] Rayi is a title a little inferior to that of Rája, generally applied to the Hindu chief of a village or small district.

got a wound on his foot. Har-govind told him: "Do not envelop *too much*, and raise your foot." According to this injunction, he suspended and uncovered his foot during three months. When the Guru was informed of it, he said to him: "Cover "your foot; what I told you was intended for the "healing of your wound: do not rest on your foot "for some days." One day the Guru said to him: "Tell the Sikhs to bring wood into the kitchen, that "they may gain some remuneration." Jahandas did not appear the next day, as if he had not during one day and a half awoke from sleep. The people, suspecting some derangement of his brain, thought he had absented himself. When they, with the Guru, looked after him, they found him with a bundle of wood on his shoulder. The Guru said: "I have "not ordered you to bear that." He replied: "You gave your orders to the Sikhs; a Sikh am I, "and know not to be any thing higher than they "are." Another day the Guru went into a garden, and said to Jahandas: "Remain at the door." By accident, the Guru returned home by another door; Jahandas remained three days on his feet, until Har-govind, who was informed of it, called him away.

Har-govind had a disciple called *Badhata*, who sent a person to bring corn from a field where it was lying cut. This man gave every thing away, and then said to Badhata who had sent him: "You

" distributed every thing, as a father, to the poor;
" I did the same in imitation of your example, and
" dispense you from the remuneration which I
" should have gained by bringing the corn to you."
Badhata was at first a thief, and his disciples exercised later the profession of thieving; they showed themselves very obedient to the orders of their master, and believed that stealing for him deserved praise and recompense. Har-govind, according to the Sikhs, declared that on the day of the last judgment, his disciples will not have to account for their actions.

Sadah, a disciple of the Guru, went by his orders to bring horses from Balkh to Irak. He had a son who had fallen sick. They said to him: " You are
" now in the town of Balkh, and but one day's jour-
" ney from home: go to see your son." He answered: " If he should die, there is wood enough
" in the house to burn him: I went about the
" Guru's business, and will not return." The son died, but he did not return. At last he bought three capital horses of Irak; but Khalíl Bég, a tyrant, took hold of them, which fell hard upon him. In the same year, he lost his only son and heir, and saw himself deprived of strength and honor. Sadah was a man neither gladdened by good nor afflicted by bad fortune. The author of this work was once his companion on a journey from

Kabul to the Penjab. The belt of my coat broke; Sadah gave me immediately his zunnar to serve me as a belt. I said to him: "Why do you this?" He answered: "To tie the zunnar purports an engage- "ment to serve another; as often as I render some "service to friends, may I resign my zunnar for it.

"This thread serves to tie every thing:
"In a cloister it is a rosary; in a temple of idols a zunnar."

A Sikh asked the Guru Har-govind: "In the "absence of my Guru, what other shall I find?" He replied: "Whichever of the Sikhs comes to your "house under the name of a Guru, him you may "take for yours." It is the custom among the Sikhs that, whatever demand they have, they can state it in the assembly of the Sikhs to the Guru, to whom they offer whatever present they have, or a coin, and in so doing they join their hands together, and proffer prayers to him, that he may be favorable to them. The Guru states then his demand in the *Sangat* (*Sangáti*),[1] that is to say, in the assembly of the Sikhs. This custom exists also among the *Sipásian*, or *Izedanian*. The belief of this people is, that an assembly is certainly capable of achieving every thing, inasmuch as the minds act with their united strength.

Among the Sikhs there is nothing of the religious

[1] सङ्गतिः

rites of the Hindús; they know of no check in eating or drinking. When *Pertábmal*, a *Jnáni*, "wise," Hindu, saw that his son wished to adopt the faith of the Muselmans, he asked him: "Why dost thou "wish to become a Muselman? If thou likest to "eat every thing, become a Guru of the Sikhs, and "eat whatever thou desirest."

The Sikhs believe that all the disciples of a Guru go to heaven. Whoever takes the name of Guru is received in the house of a Sikh. It is related, that a thief introduced himself once under the title of Guru, in the house of a Sikh, and was treated as such. In the morning the Sikh went out to prepare something better for his guest. The thief saw many jewels worn by the wife of the Sikh, and having killed her immediately, and taken the precious things, he fled. Upon his way he met with the master of the house, who by force brought him back. The Sikh, when they returned to the house, found his wife dead. The thief, seeing every thing discovered, confessed the truth. The Sikh replied: "You have done well." He then shut the door of the house, and said to his neighbours: "My wife "is sick: she ate nothing of the meal which she had "prepared." Urging the thief to be gone, he did not take the jewels from him, but made him a present of them. He finally burnt his wife.

They also relate what follows: a kalender was in

the house of a Sikh. One day the kalender said to the wife of the Sikh: " For the sake of a Guru, " satisfy my desire." The woman replied: " I am " the property of another; have patience." The kalender, out of fear, did not return to the house of the Sikh, who asked: " Why does the durvish not " visit me any more?" The woman told him what had happened. The Sikh said: " Why did you " refuse to yield to his desire?" The woman went out, and having brought the kalender back, permitted every thing to him. When, in the month of February, the Sikhs assembled at the house of the Guru (who lived before the time of Har-govind), he threw an angry look at the kalender, and said: " Him have I struck." The kalender was stigmatised.

The following anecdote is moreover reported. A Guru saw a speaking parrot, and praised him much. A Sikh heard this, and went immediately to the proprietor of the parrot, who was a soldier, and asked him for the bird. The soldier said: " If you " give me your daughter, you may have the parrot." The Sikh consented. The soldier laughed, and added: " Give me your wife too, and take the bird." The Sikh did not refuse; he conducted the soldier to his house, and delivered his wife and daughter to him. When the soldier came home, and told his wife what had happened, she was so angry with

him that he left the parrot in the hands of the Sikh, to whom he returned his wife and daughter. The Sikh, joyful, lost no time to gratify the Guru. Such customs prevailed among the Sikhs before the time of Har-govind.[1]

[1] The author of the Dabistán does not carry the account of the Sikhs further than to the time of Harrayi, a peaceable Guru, who died in 1664. After a contest between his sons, or, as some Sikh authors relate, between his son, *Har Krichna*, and his grandson, *Ram Ray*, the former was chosen. He died in 1664, and was succeeded by his uncle, *Tégh Bahader*, in spite of the opposition of his nephew, Ram Ray. Tégh Bahader was imprisoned and put to death by the Muhammedans, in 1675. After his death, the sect appeared crushed, but under his son, *Gura Govind*, the Sikhs rose again, no more as a sect, but as a nation endeavouring to establish their independence. Guru Govind is considered by them as the founder of their national greatness; he is the tenth, that is, their last acknowledged religious ruler; he is the author of the *Dasama Pa'dsha h-ka grantha*, or "the book of the tenth king;" he changed the name of his followers from Sikhs to *Singhs*, "lions," who distinguished themselves by a blue checkered dress; he first instituted the *Guru-mata*, or "great council," among them, and established the *Akalis*, or "the "immortals," who preserved their name and consideration until our days; in short, he sanctioned, and confirmed by institutions, the doctrine taught by his predecessors, who endeavoured to separate the Sikhs from the mass of the Hindus. Indeed "the admission of proselytes, the abo- "lition of the distinction of casts, the eating all kinds of flesh except that "of cows, the form of religious worship, and the general devotion of all "Sikhs to arms, are ordinances altogether irreconcileable with Hindu "mythology"—(G. M. p. 268).

Guru Govind is supposed to have died in 1708, at Naded in the Deccan. After him, *Bandu*, a Váirágí, or ascetic, united the Sikhs under his banners: during some time successful and formidable, he fell at last before the power of the Muhammedans. Without pursuing the later history of the Sikhs, I shall content myself with stating that they succeeded in forming in our times, under their late Rája, Ranjet Singh, the kingdom of Lahore, of four millions of inhabitants, dispersed over a surface of 70,000 square

CHAPTER III.

Of the religion of the Kera Tabitian.

According to one of their treatises, they call God *Kajak*,[1] and believe him to be one, infinite, all mighty; they maintain his manifestation under three forms, as the Hindus; they say, if any one finds God, he converses with him without the aid of a palate and of a tongue: this is the condition of a prophet. They declare moreover that the spirit is eternal, and that spirits are sent down; the soul, if it knows itself and God, ascends to the upper world; if not, it remains in the nether world. The author of this book heard from one of their distinguished personages that, when the rational soul separates from this body, it goes to the upper world; and from the heavens it rises further; and above this there is a sea, in which is a mountain; and on its top God, the supreme Lord, resides. If that soul has been virtuous, the divinity manifests itself to it under a pleasing form; so that from its aspect the soul derives superlative delight, which no tongue can

miles, exclusively of the province of Kachmir, annexed to their dominions.

See also upon the Sikhs *The Sigar-ul-Mutakherin*, by Mir Gholain Hussein-Khan, translated from the Persian into English by General John Briggs, London, 1832, vol. I. p. 109, etc.

[2] (T)*kon*(M)*tchog*, "the chief of the rarity, the rarest being, God."—(Dict. Tibetan and English, by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös p. 66, col. 2, l. 13.)

express, and remains eternally without change, happy and blissful in its contemplation. But if the soul has been iniquitous, God appears to it under a strange and terrific figure, than which none can be more repulsive and hideous, so that from terror it throws itself from the heavens down, and becomes confined in dust. Among these sectaries was a man called *Pawn Pishna*, exceedingly pious. Of this saint's miracles they relate that, having jumped upon a stone, the trace of his foot remained impressed upon it, and now they perform pilgrimages to it. They say further that, when this perfect man reaches the term of his life, he convokes the people about him, and out of the crowd he chooses one, to whom in their presence he delivers his books and his effects, and says: "I will come to thy house;" after that, his soul leaves the body, which is buried according to their customs. The wife of this guardian then brings forth a son, whose tongue develops itself so as to speak in one year, or sooner; he convokes witnesses, and in their presence he takes the things which are counted to him by the guardian, to whom he then remits them again, and utters not a word until the *usual* age of speech. When he attains the period of adultness, he takes the state of a durvish. They say that such an elect man comes into the world for the conversion of wicked men. These sectaries have temples of idols, which they call *Chet-*

harten,[1] and in which they perform their worship. According to their custom, when a man has two sons, he destines one of them to become a durvish; and the king himself, having two sons, makes one of them a durvish. They believe that there are two mansions; the first of this, the second of the other, world; the son who becomes a durvish takes possession of the latter, the son who associates with people of business acquires the portion of the nether world; when the body of the father and mother become weak and tottering from age, it is the worldly son who tenders them his services; but when the soul of the parents separates from the body, it devolves upon the son who is a durvish to serve them. When a great number of such young durvishes assembles, then the son of the king, or of any other chief becomes their head, and they go to *Bármîánek*, which is a magnificent temple of theirs. When they return from this pilgrimage, they become *Lámas*, that is, *Hájis*, "pilgrims." The Lámas abstain from eating flesh and from women, and keep remote from all worldly affairs; they wear their hair entangled, and eat from the skull of a man; they carry joints of human hands filed together upon a string, instead of a rosary;[2] and instead of horns

[1] [M)*tchod*-(R)*ten*, "a chapel, a temple."—(Dict. of Csoma de Körös.)

[2] We find in a treatise entitled "The Sage and the Fool," making part of the Kahgyur, one of the principal religious works of the Tibetans,

for trumpets, they keep bones of human forearms;[1] they say: "We are dead; and dead men have no-"thing to do with the things of the living."

"We are gone, and we took a separate corner of a sepulchre,
"That our bones might not be a burden to any body's shoulder."

This class of men have not their equals in enchantments, juggling, spells, and magic. Their king, if his mother be not of royal blood, is by them called *Arghún*, and not considered their true king; whoever of this sect belongs to the worldly people, does not abstain from killing animals, eating flesh and meats forbidden by religion, and associates with every body in eating. When the author of this book conversed with a learned man of this sect by means of an interpreter, whenever a question about some subtilty occurred, the translator could not always by his interpretation satisfy him.

"Without possessing the tongue, it is strange to make a friend by means
"of the tongue."

that a brahman, not satisfied with his disciple, and desirous of causing his ruin, gives him the following advice: "Keep thyself pure during "seven days; cut off the heads of a thousand men; take a single finger "of each, to make thyself a rosary; and thou shalt undoubtedly, after "thy death, be born again in the substance of Brahma." — (See Mr. Schmidt's Tibetan Grammar.)

[1] We read in "Turner's Embassy to Tibet," that, at a religious ceremony, a priest played a sort of flute made of the bone of a man's leg.— (French Transl., p. 61.)

The last four notes have been obligingly furnished to me by M. Foucaud, professor of the Tibetan language in Paris.

CHAPTER IV.

From the book *the Dabistán*, a short account of the religion of the Yahuds, contained in two sections.

Section the first, the information received from the tongue of Mohammed Sâíd Sarmed.

Section the second, upon the translation of the page of Adam, which is the beginning of the book of Moses (the Pentateuch).

SECTION THE FIRST.—The author of this book never happened to have intercourse with learned and distinguished men among the Yahuds; and he set no value upon what he found in the books of foreigners about their religion: because envy is a corrosion and a fire, which attacks the enemy. But in the year of the Hejira 1057 (A. D. 1647), when I came to Hyder abad, I contracted friendship with *Mohammed Sâid Sarmed*, who was originally from a family of learned Yahuds, of a class whom they call Rabánián (Rabbins); after an investigation into the faith of the Rabbins and the perusal of the Mosaic books, he became a Muselman; he read the scientific works of the wise men of Iran, such as Mulla Sader, and Mír Abu-'l Kásem, of Kazer sak, and many others; at last, for the sake of commerce, he undertook by

sea the voyage to Hindustan. When he arrived in the town *Tata*,[1] he fell in love with a Hindu boy, called Abhi Chand, and, abandoning all other things, like a Sanyási, naked as he came from his mother, he sat down before the door of his beloved. The father of the object of his love, after having found by investigation the purity of the attachment manifested for his son, admitted Sarmed into his house, and the young man too met him with an equal affection, so that he could no more separate from him, and he read the book of Moses, the psalms of David, and other books with Sarmed. The following verses are the composition of this young Hindu:

"I submit to Moses' law; I am of thy religion, and the guardian of
"thy way;
"I am a Rabbi of the Yahuds, a Kafir, a Muselman."

The learned rabbis say, according to their belief, among the sons of Israel it was not required that women should wear a dress, and Sarmed said that Ishâiá, the prophet, himself used to go naked in his last days. Sarmeda was a good master of poetry. Here follow some of his verses:

RABAAI, QUATRAIN:

"Sarmed, whom they intoxicated from the cup of love,
"Whom they called, exalted, and depressed,

[1] Tata is a town belonging to the Amirs of Sind, the capital of a district of the same name, and situated near the banks of the Indus

" Asked for wine, worship of God, and wisdom:
" (But) they intoxicated him, and made him a worshipper of idols."

In the praise of the prophet, we find what follows:

QUATRAIN:

" O thou, by whose cheek is wounded the mind of the red rose,
" Internally is the whole blood of the heart, externally the red rose;
" Thou camest so late after Joseph, who was in the garden expecting thee,
" That the rose (of his cheek) became first yellow (from vexation) and at
" last (from pleasure) a red rose."

ANOTHER QUATRAIN:

" This existence has, without the azure sphere, no reality,
" This existence is confined; for, except the absolute being, nothing has
" reality.
" Is God ever in vain? No! God is not in vain.
" This existence is real only with respect to its origin, but whatever is
" derived has no reality."

ANOTHER QUATRAIN:

" When God weighed in the balance of destiny with the sun,
" The being endowed with every excellence, *Muhammed.*
" This was so heavy that it moved not from its place;
" The other was so light that it flew up to heaven."

A DISTICH.

" Sarmed, who is a nightingale, has no desire of gold;
" (But) his friend is the rose, and the rose has need of a handful of gold."

ANOTHER DISTICH.

" In the Kâbah and in the idol temple is his stone *the symbol of male*
" *energy*, and his is *the symbol of female productiveness;*[1]
" In one place it is the black stone *of the temple of Mecca;* in another
" place an idol of the Hindus."

about 130 miles, by the course of the river, from the sea; lat. 22° 44′ N. long. 68° 17′ E. (Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer.*)

[1] See pp. 152–153.

In the eulogy of Shaikh Mohammed Khan, who was the chief minister of the illustrious Dara, Sultan Abed Ullah Kat'eb, we find the following quatrain:

" O thou, who art the circumference of greatness to the centre of the
" throne!—
" Thou, to whose service a hundred persons are devoted, as is the
" firmament *to the universe*—
" Make thou to me, who am a stranger, my evening equal to midday,
" If at the side of Kateb[1] thou art as happy as at midday."

The Shaikh desired the society of Sarmed. The author of this book was one day among the persons present; he said to one called Jerán, who made the eulogy of the Shaikh: " In a short time the Shaikh " will, with whatever he may have acquired, turn " towards the voyage of the other world, and Mîr " Mohammed Sâid Mîr will take complete possession " of the dignity of government; and the same year the Shaikh undertook to set out *for Mecca* from Hyderabad. In the year of the Hejira 1059 (A. D. 1649), in the harbor of Fahardanish, he passed from this bodily ark to the circle of freedom. Hafiz says:

" The paradise of eternity is in this cell the share of the durvishes;
" The Kâbah of the universe is the dominion of the durvishes;
" O my heart, be there with reverence: for the sultan and the country
" All are in the service of the majesty of the durvishes."

Sarmed gave the information that, according to

[1] *Katéb*, the name of the sultan, signifies the north pole; hence the author plays with the words *kateb*, " north," *nas'if nahar*, " midday," and *sha'm*, " evening."

the Yahuds, God, the Almighty, is corporeal; and that his body is after the image of mankind, and similar to it; that, during the course of time, he is dispersed in the same manner as splendor is dissipated. Sarmed moreover said, that it is mentioned in the Mosaic book and in the holy writings, that the spirit of the divine body is beauty itself, and manifests itself under a human form; that punishment and recompense of the other world are already experienced in this state; that life lasts one hundred and twenty years; after that, man's whole life may be considered as one day, which, when he dies, is followed by night; that his body assumes partly the form of a mineral, partly that of a vegetable, and partly that of an animal, and the like; when one hundred and twenty years have elapsed, night comes to an end, and the morning appears again; if an atom of his bodily dust be in the east and another atom in the west, they unite in one place, and life is renewed to last again one hundred years, as we have said, when night returns. Punishment and recompense are solely for this world. They maintain that whatever is, bears eternally the form of mankind, composed of water and earth.

The Yahuds agree in denying the appearance of *Aisia* (Jesus) *as a prophet;* they say that he was a deceiver; and they reject what the *Aisuyan*, "Chris-"tians," adduce from the Old Testament about the

appearance of Aísya; they maintain that the prophet Ishâía spoke of himself the words [1] which have been applied to Aísya. They assert that Ibrâhím was no prophet, but a holy man, and they esteem a holy man higher than a prophet. They say that, in the Mosaic book, no mention is made of Pharâún's pretensions to be a god; but they relate that this king was a tyrant who oppressed the children of Israel, wherefore Musiâ (Moses) rose, and protested against his tyranny. As Pharâún did not attend to his words, he met with his fate. They also say that it is not to be found in the sacred book that Harun (Aaron) was joined to Musiâ in the divine mission, although he acted as his substitute. They agree in saying that Dáúdâ (David) sent Urîa to be killed, because the king coveted the possession of that man's wife, whom he took afterwards, and hence Solíman was begotten. They further insist that Aísia was no prophet, as the Nazaréans believe. Dáudâ said: " My hands and feet will fall, and my " bones have been counted;" all this was fulfilled at the time when Aísia suffered death; but they

[1] The author leaves us in a total uncertainty about the words to which he alludes; if to those of Isaiah, chap. LIII, vv. 2–12, the prophet would have predicted his own sufferings. According to the learned Jew, Isaac Orobio (see *Israel vengé, ou Exposition naturelle des Prophéties que les Chrétiens appliquent à Jésus, leur prétendu Messie*), the words of Isaiah, chap. LIII, are not to be referred to a single individual, but to the whole people of Israel.

assert that Dáúda spoke those words of himself, and in such manner all things which the Nazáréans set forth about Aísia, the Yahuds interpret clearly in another sense. It is besides written in their sacred book that, when the children of Isráîl shall perform iniquitous acts, Muhammad will appear. About this, Sarmed said that, although the name of the prophet is in the sacred book, yet another meaning may more evidently be attached to it; but if even the prophet's very name be insisted upon, it has no other import but that it exhorts the children of Isrâîl to convert themselves to his religion, and, in such an endeavour, carried beyond all bounds, he said many other things.

The Yahuds receive no stranger into their community; circumcision is the law of their prophet, not that of others. They say also that a prophet is always living and present, to be the propagator of the law which is contained in the sacred book. *Abhî Chand*, having translated a part of the Mosaic book, the author of this work revised it with Sarmad; they corrected it completely, affixed their mark to it, so that it became a correct copy, from which is the following:

SECTION THE SECOND: ON THE BOOK OF ADAM.

The Dabistan gives here a Persian translation of the Ge-

nesis, from the beginning to chapter VI, verse 8; at the end of which the author says that this is the only portion of the sacred book of the Jews which he had an opportunity of examining. According to Eichhorn (see Einleitung in das alte Testament, 4th edit., vol. II. p. 329) the five books of Moses were translated into Persian by the rabbi Jacob, son of Joseph, after the ninth century; the translation contained in the Dabistan is said to have been executed by Abhi Chand; we cannot say whether it was made from the Hebrew original, or from the Arabic, or any other language. We are informed by the baron Hammer-Purgstall (see Gemaldesaal moslimisher Herrsher, p. 57) that Werka ben Nafil, a cousin of Khadija, Muhammed's wife, and a Christian priest, translated the Old and New Testament from the Hebrew into Arabic; this translation appears however to have been but little known. Eichhorn says (loco citato, p. 231), that the first certain traces of a translation of the Hebrew sacred books into Arabic are to be found in the tenth century. Pocock mentions (pp. 34, 361) Sâadias, a learned Jew, who lived from 892 to 941 A. D., as translator of all the books of the Old Testament into Arabic; and another Jew (not named) who made a version of the book of Kings into the same language.

The Persian translation of the fragment under our consideration was revised by the author of the Dabistan, and by Sarmed, who was a Jew and a Rabbin, converted to Muhammedism, most probably in the first half of the seventeenth century. As it was undoubtedly executed from another original copy than that which had served to the translators in Europe, it appeared interesting enough to examine whether the Persian version of the Dabistan differs in any material point from the translations known in Europe. For that purpose I have consulted the following copies of the Bible:

I. The polyglot Bible, printed at Paris, 1645, in which I chiefly compared the Arabic translation.

II. The Persian translation, published by the Bible Society in 1825.

III. The German Bible, translated by Martin Luther.

IV. The English Bible, appointed to be read in Churches, 1837.

V. The English translation from the original Hebrew, by John Bellamy, 1818.

VI. The French translation from the original Hebrew, by S. Cahen, 1831.

VII. The French translation, by Messrs. Glaire and M. Frank, 1835.

Here follow some variations which I have remarked in the Persian translation compared with the text of the versions just enumerated. (References are made to the respective copies, by repeating the Roman numbers prefixed to each.)

GENESIS, CHAP. I.

V. 2. II. III. IV. V. VI. read: "the spirit of God;" I. the Arabic translation has "the winds of God;" VI. "un "vent violent (divin) agitait la surface des eaux;" the Dabistan,

وباد خدا می وزید بہ روي آب

"And the *wind of God* blew upon the face of the water."

VV. 6 7. 8. I. the Arabic translation has جلد, *jeld*, "a skin, a "volume;" II. پردہ, *perdah*, "veil, curtain, fence;" both Arabic and Persian, only figuratively "heaven;" III. German, "veste;" IV. English, and VI. French, "firmament;" V. English, "expanse;" VII. French, "étendue" (atmosphere); the Dabistan, رفیعہ, "an "elevation."

V. 26. V. Mr. Bellamy objects to the translation of this verse by the words: " Let us make man in our image" (in which all the other versions agree), and he substitutes for it: " We will make man;" in the Dabistan we find, in support of Mr. Bellamy, بکنم آدم, " I will make man."

Chap. II.

V. 6. All the translations have: " a vapor *watered* the face of " the earth;" the Dabistan says: " covered, decked."

V. 7. All the copies agree in: " he breathed *into his nostrils* " the breath of life;" the Dabistan translates: " into " his body."

V. 8. Every where we read: " God planted a garden *east-* " *ward in Eden;*" in the Dabistan: " from old times in " Eden;" Mr. Cahen remarks that Onkelos (a Hebrew commentator before our era) interprets in the same manner: " in former times."

V. 11. We read generally: " Pison: *that is it which com-* " *passeth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold*;" Messrs. Glaire and Frank add: " l'or *de ce nom*;" in the Dabistan:

زمین حوملارا کہ آنجاست بلور و سنك یشب

" The land Havemla, where there is the beryl (also crys- " tal) and the stone jasper (especially a whitish kind " found on mount Imaus)."

V. 12 is not in the Dabistan.

V. 13. In the Dabistan are omitted, after the name of Gihon, the words: " the same is it that compasseth the whole " land of Ethiopia."

V. 14. The Dabistan reads, after the name of the river Hidikel, رونده پیش طایفه بشراو, " running towards the

" *people of Ashur ;*" other versions have: " towards the " east of Assyria."

V. 23. VII. Messrs. Glaire and Frank translate: " qu'elle soit " nommée *Ischâ* (femme), parcequ'elle a été tirée de *Ish*" (homme). This analogous derivation for man and woman does not exist in other languages; we find however, in the old Latin, *vir* and *vira*, which words are used in the Latin translation of the Samaritan text; in the Arabic version we find امرءه for " virago," and امريه for " viri- " litas;" the translator, in the Dabistan, endeavored to reproduce the same derivation, by *ânsa'n* and *ânsn:*

ازابراي همين گفته ميشود انسان كه گرفته شده است ازانسن

V. 24. The version in the Dabistan deviates from the other translations by the word

ميخسپند (مزنش)

" he will *sleep* with his wife," instead of " cleave unto," " or adhere to, his wife."

Chap. III.

Offers no variation to be pointed out.

Chap. IV.

V. 13. The translation in the Dabistan deviates from IV. VI. VII. which have: " my *punishment* is greater than I can " *bear ;*" it agrees with I. II. III. and V. which say: " great is my *iniquity* to be *forgiven ;*"

بزرگ است گناه من از برداشتن

" Great is my *crime* to be *overlooked*" (disregarded).

V. 16. There is coincidence between I. II. III. IV. VI. and VII. which have: " he dwelt in the land *of Nod*, on the " east of Eden." V. Mr. Bellamy translates: " he

" dwelt in the land *wandering* eastward of Eden;" in the Dabistan:

نشیست در زمین اوارکی پیش عدن

" He dwelt in the land of vagrancy, before Eden."

CHAP. V.

V. 25. All translations have: " Methuselah lived *a hundred* " *eighty and seven* years, and begat Lamech;" in the Dabistan we read only " eighty-seven years."

V. 27. All versions agree in the words: " All the days of " Mathuselah were *nine hundred sixty and nine* years;" in the Dabistan we find: " the whole life of Manusalah " was eight hundred and fifty-nine years" (according to its own text it ought to be 869).

V. 30. According to all versions: " Lamech lived after he " begat Noah *five hundred ninety and five* years;" according to the Dabistan, only " five hundred years."

V. 31. Pursuant to all translations: " the days of Lamech " were *seven hundred seventy and seven* years;" pursuant to the Dabistan: " six hundred eighty and two years."

CHAP. VI.

V. 3. In the Dabistan we read: " My spirit shall not always " *take patience* with man;" other versions have: " shall " not always remain," or " strive with man."

V. 5. is omitted in the Dabistan.

The notice given in the Dabistan of the opinions of the Jews will be found very incomplete and inaccurate, inasmuch as it is exhibited without a due distinction of the different Jewish sects, to which they may be attributed. For a far better account of the Jews, see that of Makrisi, given in the " Chres- " tomathie arabe" of Silvestre de Sacy (vol. I. pp. 284–369), with the various explanatory notes of that celebrated orientalist.

CHAPTER V.

Of the religion of the Tarsá,[1] containing three sections.

Section I—an account of the Lord Aisiá (Jesus).
Section II—of the creed of the Nasárá.
Section III—of the works of the Tarsá.

Of the Tarsá I saw several learned individuals, such as the Padrî Fransaî, who is highly esteemed by the Portuguese in Goa, and by those who are in Surat, a maritime place in India. In the year of the Hejira 1057 (A. D. 1647) the author of this book found him in the port of Surat.

SECTION THE FIRST: AN ACCOUNT OF THE LORD AISIA (JESUS).—They say that the birth of the Lord Mesîah took place in the year 3199 of the creation of the world,[2] 2957 after the deluge of Noah,[3] 2015 years

[1] *Tarsa* is derived from *tarsiden*, "fearing, timid, a Christian, an "infidel, a pagan, a worshipper of fire."

[2] Upon the epoch of the creation of the world we have, according to Riccioli, 70, according to Dortous de Mairan, 75 or 90, and according to the marquis de Fortia d'Urban, 108 different systems, to which many more may be added. These epochs vary from 6984 to 3619 years; that of the Dąbistan, 3199, is the lowest known to me.

[3] The deluge is placed:

By the Septuaginta	2250	years	before Christ.
— Archbishop Usher	2348	—	—
— Others	3882	—	—

after the birth of Ibráhim,[1] and 1510 from the coming of Mosîah (Moses);[2] and when the children of Israél were in the 65th week, which the prophet Dániel had announced, 752 years after the building of Rome,[3] in the 42nd year of the reign of Cæsar *Tiberius*. When Aísia appeared, the high priest said: "We charge thee, upon thy oath by the living God, "say, art thou the son of God?" The blessed and holy Lord Aísîâ replied to him: "I am what thou "hast said. Verily, we say unto you, you shall "see the son of man seated at the right hand of "God, and he shall descend in the clouds of hea-"ven." They said: "Thou utterest a blasphemy, "because, according to the creed of the Yahuds, "God never descends in the clouds of heaven." Ishâîá the prophet has announced the birth of Aîsîá in words the translation of which is as follows: "A "branch from the root of Ishaî shall spring up, and "from this branch shall come forth a flower in "which the spirit of God shall dwell: verily, a "virgin shall be pregnant and bring forth a son."

[1] The above epoch differs 94 years from that given by Archbishop Usher, viz.: 1921 years before Christ.

[2] The above epoch differs 19 years from that given by Archbishop Usher, viz.: 1510 years before Christ.

[3] The date of the birth of Christ, as given by our chronologers, varies from 747 to 754 years after the building of Rome, or is uncertain within seven or six years (see Chronologie de Jésus-Christ par M. le marquis de Fortia, p. 102-103, Paris, 1830).

Ishâî is the name of the father of Dávid. When they had apprehended Aisîa, they spit upon his blessed face and smote him. Ishâa had predicted it: "I "shall give up my body to the smiters, and my "cheek to the diggers *of wounds*; I shall not turn "my face from those who will use bad words, and "throw spittle upon me." When Aflátes (Pilatus), a judge of the Yahuds, scourged the Lord Aîsiâ in such a manner that his body from head to foot became but one wound, so was it as Ishâía had predicted: "He was wounded for our transgressions; "I struck him for his people." When Pilatus saw that the Yahuds insisted upon the death and the crucifixion of Jesus, he said: "I take no part in the "blood of this man; I wash my hands clean of this "blood." The Yahuds answered: "His blood be "on us and on our children." On that account, the Yahuds are oppressed and curbed down, in retribution of their iniquities. When they had placed the cross upon the shoulder of Aísiá, and led him to die, a woman wiped with the border of her garment the face, full of blood, of the Lord Aîsîa; verily, she obtained three images of it, and carried them home: the one of these images exists still in Ispániah, in the royal town which is situated within the country of the king of Portugal; and is shown there twice every year:[1] the other is in the town of Milan, in

[1] The viscount of Santarem, to whose most extensive learning in

the country of Italy, and the third in the city of Rome.

SECTION THE SECOND: OF THE CREED OF THE AI SU YAH (CHRISTIANS). — They say that, in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, every one ought to bear in his heart and to keep perpetually on his tongue the Lord Jesus, the Son of God, and never to deny him, if even it were at the peril of his head.[1] The holy cross is the sign of the Christians. They reckon fourteen parts of their creed: seven of which relate to God the Almighty, and seven to the human nature of the Lord Jesus. The first seven are as follow: 1. to confess

history and geography, I fortunately had an opportunity in Paris of applying for information upon the above mentioned fact, gave me the following notice: "In no town of Portugal do I find any indication of "the existence of these relics. I think that there is, in the statement of "the Dabistán, an error and a confusion with the fact related by Bran- "dão, in 1643, viz.: the famous Portuguese prince don Pietro, son of "John I., having, on his return from Jerusalem to Spain, in 1428, married "in the town of Alcoba in Catalonia, the countess Isabella, daughter of "D. Jayme, count of Urgel, gave to the bishop of Valenza an image of our "Saviour, taken by St. Veronica. These relics were still preserved in "the cathedral of Valenza in Spain, called by distinction 'the royal "town,' in the year 1643." It was a few years after this (see p. 305), that the author of the Dabistán might have received from father Francia, the Portuguese missionary, the account above stated.

[1] Here the author shows how the Latin word "*filius*" is to be written in Arabic or Persian characters.

that God is omnipotent and supreme; 2. to believe that he is the Father; 3. to believe that he is the Son; 4. that he is a pure spirit; 5. that he is the Creator; 6. that he bestows heaven; 7. that he grants salvation.[1] The seven other articles, which relate to the human nature of Jesus are the following: 1. to believe that he is the Son of God, by the power of the Holy Ghost, born in the body of Maria; 2. that he was born of Maria, the virgin, and without detriment to her virginity: 3. that for our sake he was crucified, died, and was buried; 4. that he shall descend from heaven, and raise up the former generations, who there anxiously expected his blessed arrival; 5. that he resuscitated on the third day; 6. that he ascended to heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father, the omnipotent and supreme God; 7. that he shall come at the end of the world to judge the living and the dead, and to reveal their good and bad actions. They call God a father, because he is bountiful to his servants as a father to his children. They maintain that, although God has three different persons, yet, in truth, he is but one being; in such a manner that the persons are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, without the unity of the blessed entity being affected by it, and this peculiarity belongs to the divinity; in no

[1] Here the author shows how the Latin word "*Deus*" is to be written in Arabic or Persian characters.

creature is such an attribute to be found. Jesus is in truth the Son of God; it is only metaphorically that other holy personages are called the sons of God; it is in an abstract sense,[1] inasmuch as, being God, that Jesus came forth in heaven from the Father, not from the mother; in a similar manner, in an abstract sense, inasmuch as, being a man upon earth, he has a mother, but no Father. Jesus did not die, but, having a perfect love for the sons of Adam, he sacrificed himself for the people, that they may be liberated again from all sins. They say further, that below the earth there are four places: the undermost of all is hell, which is the place of severe punishment for the Satans and the iniquitous. Another place, above this, is that which they call *purgatory*, that is, a place of purification for good men, as some of the disobedient who have rebelled, when they shall have there been purified, go to heaven. A third place, higher than the last, is called the *limbus*, in which are children under age; except that of being deprived of the sight of the Lord Almighty, they are there exempt from all other suffering. The fourth place is the most elevated of all; they call it "the House of Ibrahîm," that is, the dwelling

[1] I render here, by "abstract sense," the Persian word حیثیت *hâyṡîyat*, which in the Dictionary is interpreted "ubiquity, universality, "capacity, merit, conditional proposition, examination etc."

of the souls of the prophets and holy men: these were formerly not quite happy, because they expected anxiously the arrival of the Saviour, the Lord Jesus; when Jesus left the body which was buried, he descended to this fourth place, and when he rose from the grave, he brought the pure souls with him, leaving the souls in the three other places where they were. When, after having been put to death, he was restored to life, his soul was reunited to his body, and he remained forty days with his disciples; he then, before their eyes and those of others, ascended to heaven, and, in the highest place, seated himself at the side of God Almighty. They declare: "When we say that Jesus is seated at the right side "of God, his Father, we mean not to say that God "has a body and is any thing corporeal. No! the "Divine Being has neither right nor left side. By "such a description we intend to be intelligible *to* "*the vulgar*; for Jesus, in the abstract sense of being "the son of God, possesses the same greatness and "power which his Father has, and in the abstract "sense of his being a man, he dwells in the most "glorious and most excellent place, which is in "heaven." They declare further: "When we say "that Jesus shall come on the last day of the world "to judge the dead and the living, and to give their "due to all men, we mean not to imply that all "men will then be alive, but by the living we denote

" the good men, and by the dead, the wicked." Except Christians, nobody else will be found pure and holy. On the day of resurrection, all men shall live and their souls shall be reunited to their bodies, and none will ever more die.

SECTION THE THIRD: OF THE WORKS OF THE CHRISTIANS.—Ten commandments are established in the Gospel; three of them relate to God, and seven others to the servants of God: 1. thou shalt love the Lord thy God above all things; 2. thou shalt not swear by the name of God for the sake of an argument, that is, thou shalt accustom thyself to the truth; when this quality shall be manifest in thee, thou wilt never have occasion for an oath. The wise master of secrets, the king Naser Khusró says:

" At any time speak nothing else but truth, that thou mayst not have
" need of an oath."

3. keep the holy days, that is the Sunday and the other sanctified days; 4. honor thy father and thy mother; 5. thou shalt not kill: this means, evidently, thou shalt not kill a living being at all; but they have interpreted it that only the animal which is a *private* property ought not to be killed, such a one as is serviceable, and in life, or after death, may be of use. The true sense is, that we

ought not only not to kill our brother (and such is any son of Adam), but even not hurt him by any deed or word; 6. thou shalt not commit fornication, that is, with a woman not thy own, be she married or without a husband; 7. thou shalt not steal; 8. thou shalt not calumniate nor lie: in this command enters that, if any thing bad concerning somebody be a secret, although we know it as a certainty, we ought nevertheless to keep it concealed, and not to divulge it, except the bad thing were against religion and faith, or tended against the king; 9. thou shalt not covet another's wife; 10. thou shalt not covet another's good.

The other five commandments, which are less imperative, are: 1. to hear mass on Sunday, and on other holy days; and this is a rite of devotion which a padri performs; and every body ought in solitude to turn his whole mind towards the remembrance of the sufferings of Jesus; 2. every one ought to go to confession at least once a year. The confession implies three conditions: the first is truth; the second, contrition; the third, completeness; that is, to recount humbly one's own sins without diminution or addition, to speak out, and to beg absolution; 3. it is necessary that every one should take, yearly, the communion at the Easter feast, that is, when Jesus attained to manhood and made his testament, establishing the rule of the holy sacrament,

which is a worship; 4. let every man keep the fast at Christmas, and other fasts, except a person be excused; 5. it is obligatory to pay the tithes, that is, the tenth part of whatever grows from the earth, or comes forth from an animal, is to be given to God.

At the time of prayer, they say, God is to be invoked as our Father; he loveth us just as a father loveth a son, and his own Son says and orders that we should call him a father. We ought then to abstain from sins, that he may enable us to be his children. And when we say to God: "thou art in "heaven;" it is because we think he has chosen heaven, and for that reason we raise our hearts from the earth upwards, if even God has no dwelling so as to be beheld in heaven. Besides, in their prayer, they do not demand bread from God, because he is displeased at our wanting to-day the necessaries of life for a future day, but because he wills us to be contented, and to feel no anxious care about to-morrow. They say, that we ought to pardon the mischief that we receive from others, in order that God Almighty may also pardon our transgressions. They offer likewise prayers in praise of the glorious Mary, saying that the Lord God diffuses abundantly his grace in any place in which the image of the blessed Lady Mary be present. In the same manner they consider the image of the Lord Jesus, and that of the holy cross.

There are seven sacraments, which consist in submissive prayers and invocations for remission of sins from God the Almighty: 1. *Baptism;* that is, an external ablution in the name of God, of his Son, and of the Holy Ghost; for this act any sort of water that may be procured is acceptable; by this act the soul is purified from the contamination of all sins; this rite may be performed by the first padri who may be present, and if none are at hand, by any individual among the Christians; 2. *Confirmation;* that is, a friction with holy oil, given in the name of God; and the giver, that is, a padri of known merit, bestows it on all Christians of an adult age; *Sanct-Eucharisty:* this, they say, is the holiest of all the sacraments, as it presents the Lord Jesus under the form of bread, that he may become the power of the soul. Three conditions are required in this act: the first is a true faith; the second, abstinence from sins; the third, to fast, and eat nothing until taking the sacrament; the time of taking it is Christmas; 4. *Penitence;* which consists of two conditions that the Lord Jesus has imposed therein: the first is confession; that is the avowal made by the sinner of his sins, and the absolution of the padri, as of one who is the substitute of Jesus, and whose forgiveness is the absolution of Jesus. Then, it is necessary that the sinner should give a detailed account of his concealed and open crimes, and to this

he must add two things; the one is an aversion to, and a repentance of, every action which he may have done without the approbation of God; the other is a sincere resolution of never undertaking any blamable acts; to execute faithfully the penance imposed upon him by the padri, as Jesus ordered a return for every crime. Further, whatever sins, venial or capital, may have struck the ear of the padri, he ought never, even at the peril of his head, to reveal or publish them; 5. *Sacrament of extreme unction*; this is a friction by which they anoint a Christian with holy oil, and they bestow this sacrament with some words which the Lord Jesus has spoken. The above five sacraments are obligatory to every adult Christian; 6. *Ordination*; this sacrament is taken by devoting one's self by free choice to the worship of God, which vocation the Christians recommend; 7. *Matrimony*; this is an agreement which a man and a woman take together at the time of their binding themselves in wedlock, that during the whole of their life they will keep faith to each other. This is peculiar to the adults. This act is allowable to women frequently at the age of twelve years; to men at that of fourteen. The man is not permitted to take more than one wife, and the woman is bound to a single husband. The padri who gives this sacrament, after having ascertained that there is no objection to the marriage, and the com-

pact being made before witnesses, unites both to each other in wedlock according to the conditions of matrimony.

The Christians say that faith is something by which we know a religion to be certainly true, and that, whenever God, the Almighty, has sent his message, however hard and difficult, and out of the natural mode and rule it may appear, we know that God cannot tell a lie. The truth is found in the book of God, by means of the evidence given by him who is the substitute of the Lord Jesus, and whom they call *Pope*. It is certain that he throws nobody into an error, because the Lord Jesus has in the holy Gospel, made an arrangement with him to that effect. It should be known that the life of man depends upon these laudable qualifications. To search and to acquire knowledge is a laudable intention, in every business and profession; on that account it is by method and virtue that affairs find a proper arrangemeut; knowledge is the master of things; it is like salt in meat, it is the eye of the body; and as the sun in heaven. *Justice* consists in using moderation in the manifold transactions of men, and in keeping men in peace and in mutual satisfaction: if therefore every body were contented with his share, and entertained no desire for more, there would be no war and contention. *Fortitude* is something by means of which one obtains supe-

riority over the difficulties which obstruct the life of men, and the business of fortitude is to triumph over terror and fear, which Iblis (Satan) throws into the heart, in order to retain us from acts which are to be done. *Continence* is a faculty which bestows measure and order in sensual pleasures; the business of continence is to prevent men from being carried away by the delights of the world; we ought to tend in this life towards godliness; blessed are those who feel hunger and thirst after God. It is required that, in our devotion to God there enters no other desire but that of the beatitude to see the Divine Being; on that account blessed are those whose hearts are pure, because the sight of God shall be their reward in heaven, and even in this world they shall in a certain way see God: because those whose eyes are pure, behold things of *superlative* beauty; it is required that we carry strife to a peaceful end, and accomplish our virtuous endeavors. Those who are in a state of opposition to this, take with efforts and struggles the road of misery. On that account blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

There are fourteen gifts of God, the all merciful; seven of them are bodily, and seven spiritual. The seven bodily gifts are: 1. to satiate the hungry; 2. to quench the thirst of the thirsty; 3. to clothe the naked; 4. to harbor the stranger; 5. to inquire

after the sick, and to console the captive; 6. to procure liberty to prisoners; 7. to bury the dead. The spiritual acts are as follow: 1. to instruct the ignorant; 2. to advise the poor *in spirit;* 3. to comfort the heart of the mourners; 4. to admonish the sinners; 5. to forgive injuries inflicted; 6. to show forbearance to the deformities of nature; 7. to offer pious prayers for the living and the dead. The Christians say that every necessitous individual is worthy of charities, to whatever religion or sect he may belong, but the person of the same faith, or a relative, is more deserving of favor. It is a sin, when by choice we perpetrate an action which is in opposition to the pleasure of God, and when we abandon an act which we are commanded to perform. A capital sin is it for a man, by his own choice, to commit an abominable act and deed, such as the unrighteous spilling of blood, and whoredom. Of venial sins seven are enumerated: such as stealing some slight thing without a perfect concurrence of the will in it. The summary of the capital sins is as follows: pride, avarice, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, and sloth.

Pride consists in esteeming one's self higher than others, whence proceed petulance, which displays itself in vaunting one's self and despising others, and in dispute, and disobedience. The remedies to be applied to it are trust, submission, and obedience to

another; these are suitable means by which the hateful mind may be subdued.

Avarice is a desire without measure of the brittle things of the world, and the bad consequences which result from it are theft, deception in buying and selling, lies, and perjury: the remedies for it may be good works and liberality.

Lust is an unbounded desire of sensual pleasures; but the way and scandalous display of it is the defilement of women: the remedy to be sought for counteracting it is chastity.

Anger is a desire without measure of vengeance upon somebody, and the display of it is hatred of God's creatures, insulting speeches against men, contentions, and a total want of mildness: the remedies for it are patience, forbearance, and the reflection that, for our crimes and shameful acts, we are deserving of the adversity which comes upon us, and to keep before our sight the Lord Jesus and his apostles, who showed nothing but mercy and kindness to those very men who caused their distress and affliction.

Gluttony is a desire without measure of eating and drinking; the offspring of this is sensuality, rejection of fasts, slowness in worship, and all sorts of diseases ruining the body: the remedies for this are abstinence, moderation in eating and drinking, in order that a becoming attention to divine favor be

excited, the constitution restored to health, and a return from all extravagance accomplished.

Envy is a pain and sadness derived from the good condition of the affairs of other people; whence proceeds the jealous intention to find fault and occasion for detraction. It displays itself by rejoicing at the distress of one's neighbors, when related by other tongues, by reviling certain people, and by leading an unprofitable life: the remedy for it is affection for mankind on account of their being God's creatures, and to consider that happiness and welfare are bestowed upon them by the mercy of God, and that it is an exceeding offence against good morals to be afflicted on account of the works and effects which result from *divine* disposition.

Sloth is negligence in the worship of God and in good behaviour. It displays itself by a frequent deficiency in laudable and obligatory actions, and in always letting slip out of our hands the expedients of spiritual and material life: the remedy for it is activity and alacrity.

Hell is a place a worse than which cannot exist, and in this abode one is imprisoned to all eternity, on account of commission of sins for punishment, more severe than which none can be imagined. Heaven is a place full of all sorts of delight; the happiness of this place manifests itself for all ages by jubilation and pleasure.

Jesus told his disciples: "After me, a great number of men will set forth pretensions to divine "mission, but all will be deceivers: remain you "persevering and steady in your adherence to me, "until my coming."

The Gospel has been translated from the tongue of Jesus into different languages; namely, into Arabic, Greek, Latin, which last is the language of the learned among the Firang; into Syriac, and this all men of letters know.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the religion of the Muhammedans, or of the people of Islám (right faith), consisting of two sections: the first treats of the religion of the *Sonnites*, the second of the religion of the *Shiâs*.

SECTION THE FIRST: OF THE RELIGION OF THE SONNITES.—The author of this book was informed by respectable persons of the Sonnites (the mercy of God be upon them!) and saw in their books, namely, n the doctrine presented by the imam *Mohammed Sheheristanî*, [1] where it is said, that in sign of revela-

[1] Sheheristâni is the surname of *Al Fath Mohammed Ben Abdalkerim*, one of the most celebrated doctors of the Ashârian sect, an account of

tion the verses of the high prophet (upon whom be blessing!) show the right faith; that his religion will divide into seventy and three sects,[1] and that of this number one shall obtain salvation, and the rest shall share darkness and perdition. It was asked: "Upon "what people shall the sun of salvation shine?" He answered: "It shall shine upon the people of the

which is to follow. He died in the year of the Hejira 548 (A. D. 1153). He composed several works upon metaphysics and the scholastic theology of the Muselmans, and among others that which is entitled *Nehajat alekdam fi êlm al Kelam*, and on account of which he is entitled *Mâtakellam al-Ashari*, "the scholastic of the Ashârian." We have also from him a book called *Al Melal u alnahal*, "the means of curing weari-"someness and melancholy."—(Herbelot.)

[1] According to Sheheristani, quoted by Pococke (p. 211, 1st edit.), the Magians were divided into seventy sects; the Jews into seventy-one; the Christians into seventy-two; and the Moslem into seventy-three. Among the sects there was always one to be saved.

The baron de Hammer says (Journ. As., juin 1825, p. 321, Tableau généalogique des soixante-treize sectes de Islam): "The best informa-"tion which we have yet upon the sects and the heresies of Islam are "those given by Pococke, Marraccius, and Sale, according to Sheheristâni, "and the Commentary of Mewakif. Pococke (Specimen historiæ Ara-"bum, Oxoniæ, 1650, pp. 194 and 210), Marraccius (Prodromus), and "Sale (Engl. transl. of the Koran) trace the principal classes of the "genealogical table of the heresies; but their catalogue is not quite "exact, and still less complete. This subject, interesting for the history "of religions, and above all for that of the Islamitic heresies, is treated "fundamentally in the Commentary of the great scholar Jorjani upon "the *Mewakif*, that is to say, the metaphysics of Adhad eddin al Iji, a "valuable work in more than one respect, which work was printed in "Constantinople" (in folio, of 635 pages, in the year of the Hejirah 1039, A. D. 1824). The baron de Hammer treated this subject summarily in the number of the journal quoted, pp. 321–335, and in the subsequent number for July, 1825, pp. 32–46.

"*Sonat*[1] and *Jamáât*."[2] It was further asked: "Who "are the people of Sonat[3] and Jamáât?" He said: "Those who walk the road upon which I am to-day "a traveller, and by which my successor shall pro- "ceed." The same book treats also of the *Sifátîah*,[4] a great number of which sect has from all times acknowledged the greatness of the divine nature, whose attributes are omniscience, power, life, hearing, sight, providence, command, majesty, bounty, profuse liberality, greatness, and magnificence; they make no difference between the *essential attributes* and the *attributes of operation*; because in logic, according

[1] The points of faith in dispute among the schoolmen are reducible to four general heads, called the four bases or great fundamental articles. The first relates to the attributes of God, and his unity consistent therewith; the second regards predestination and the justice thereof; the third concerns the promises and threats; the fourth treats history and reason, and also the mission of prophets, and the office of Imâm, or chief pontiff. About all these heads the Muhammedans are divided into different sects, which may be classed under two principal sorts: the *orthodox* and the *heretical;* the former, by a general name, are called *Sonnites*, or "Traditionists;" the latter *Shiâts* (see note, vol. I. p. 101).

[2] Jamaât signifies properly the *assembly*, or as we may say, the *church* of Muselmans. This name is assumed by the Ashârian, who, as Sheheristâni contends (see Pococke, p. 211), were the sect whom the prophet indicated as selected for salvation.

[3] The Sonnites, just mentioned, are divided into four sects, the founders of which I shall mention, in the order as they occur, in the text of the Dabistán.

[4] The Sifâtiah are one of the orthodox sects; they maintain the existence of the eternal attributes of God, and are on this account named *Sifa'tiah*, or "Attributists."

to their definition of the words, both these attributes are but one; they maintain that some of the attributes are proclaimed by the evidence of the blessed revelation; and these they call *attributes declarative*: for instance, the hand, the countenance; these they do not interpret in a particular sense, but they say, these attributes are found mentioned in the sacred book, on which account these attributes are called *declarative*. Whereas the sect called the *Mâtazalah*[1] deny the attributes, and the ancients maintain them by arguments; the latter are called *Sifâtiah*, and the Mâtezalah are entitled *Mâtalah*; but these last employ

[1] The *Mâtazalah*, or "Separatists," were the followers of *Wasel Ebn Ata*. He was the disciple of Hassan al Bas'ri, of whom hereafter. When he separated from his master, the latter exclaimed: *Kad êttazal amma Wassel*, "Wassel separates from us:" hence is derived the name of his followers, *Mâtazalah*—(See Herbelot). They entirely rejected all eternal attributes of God, saying that eternity is the proper or formal attribute of his essence; that God knows by his *essence*, and not by his *knowledge*, and the same they affirmed of his other attributes, and hence this sect were also named *Mâtalah*, or *Mâtalites*, from their *divesting* God of his attributes, in which they place the unity of God. They denied also all vision of God in paradise by the corporeal eye, and rejected all comparison or similitude applied to God. They established further, that the word of God is created; that God is necessarily holden to the observation of justice in his decrees, to the rewarding of good and the punishment of the wicked. Moreover they refuted the dogma of absolute predestination, maintaining that God was not the author of evil, but of good only, and that man was a free agent: on which account they are also called *Kadarian*, from *kadr*, "destiny." They are subdivided into twenty sects, taxing each other with infidelity—(See *Sale's Koran*, vol. I. Prelim. Discourse, pp. 211–212. The latter are to be particularly mentioned in these pages hereafter.

exaggeration in their arguments to such a degree that they approach the boundary of a mere image. Some use more restriction with respect to the attribution, which is indicated by the actions *of God*. Information derived from the sacred book devolved equally to both sects; but some interpret these words in a manner that they may appear probable, whilst others are firm in their interpretation, saying: "We know by the application of the intellect "that nothing can be like the Lord's divine power, "and that at all times nothing of what is created "can be like him, and firmly convinced of it, we "think these words are to he considered as a mere "simile, such as: '*God seated upon his throne*,' or "such as '*I created you with my hand, and I preserve* "'*you*.' Except these words, which are to be "considered as a mere simile, we know no other "meaning, and to know *thoroughly* the meaning and "interpretation of it, we feel ourselves perplexed; "but, in spite of this perplexity, we deny the likeness of the created beings and the Creator, on "account of the extent of the divine power."

The sect called *Jamâûtî*, which belongs to the moderns, amplified what the ancients had maintained, and said, that necessarily an evident sense is to be ascribed to these words, and by means of a commentary an agreement was obtained upon the proper bearing which the text of the sacred book

has, so that we may without difficulty interpret it, or establish the evident meaning of it. They always fell into a pure simile, and in such an acceptation, they are in opposition to the ancients. Whatever, as a pure simile, is taken from the sacred book of the Jews, this is also not received by all the Jewish tribes, although the readers of the Koran, having found some such words in the Old Testament, employ the simile as an argument, and in this belief are the *Shîâh*. Some fell upon the side of excess, and some upon that of deficiency; but others of the sect, which by exaggeration [1] exceeded all bounds, declared as vain any comparison with the Lord Almighty, whilst the sect which happened to take the side of deficiency and error compared something which is created to the Lord God. When the *Mâtazalah* and the *Matakalmân*, [2] "scholastics," appeared, then some openly turned their face from exaggera-

[1] There is a sect among the *Shiites*, or "the Dissidents," called the *Gholats*, or "the Exaggerators."

[2] متكلم *Matkallem*, according to Richardson's Dictionary, Johnson's edition, signifies "a speaker, orator, declaimer, advocate;" but, according to Pococke (*vide* pp. 195. 198 1st edit.), *Al Motacalmi'n* are those who investigate and dispute. *Al Kalem* signifies "scholastic "theology," synonymous with *Al mantik*, "logic." According to Eben al-Kossai, quoted by Pocock, *Al Kalem* is a science by which disquisitions are made about the essence and attributes of God, and the condition of possible things, about creation and restitution, pursuant to the canons of Islamism. Others define it the science of legal principles which belong to the articles of faith, and are acquired by positive demon-

tion and deficiency in which they were, and became *Mâtazalah*. And some of the ancients, inasmuch as they attached themselves to the imagery of certain words which are to be considered as a mere simile, fell into an error; but the sect of the ancients in general did not oppose the interpretation of those words, and made themselves no objects of contention and blame on account of the simile. It was the example of the theologians and of the Imáms of the right faith, the Imám *Ans* Ebn *Málik*,[1] (the peace of God be upon him!) who said that the words: "*God* "*was seated upon his throne*," are evident; the attribute is unknown, and the faith to be placed in it is necessary. The question thereupon being a novelty, and carried to such a state, the Imáms *Ahmed Hanbal*[2]

strations. Further, conformably with the author of *Al Mawakef*, "sta- "tions, or rather theses of metaphysics," who himself composed a system of this science, it is a doctrine by which one is rendered capable of confirming by demonstrations the articles of religion, and of solving doubts.

[1] *Málik Ebn Ans* (see Sale's Koran, vol. I. p. 206), was born at Medina, according to different accounts, in the years of the Hejira 90, 93, 94 or 95 (A. D. 708, 711, 712, or 713), and died there in the years of the Hejira 177, 178, or 179 (A. D. 793, 794, or 795). This doctor and head of his sect, is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of Muhammed. He was distinguished by the humble confession of his ignorance. Being asked his opinion as to forty-eight questions, his answer to thirty-two of them was, that he did not know.

[2] *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal* (see Sale's Koran, vol. I. p. 208) was born in the year of the Hejira 164 (A. D. 780) at Meru, in Khorasan, according to some, or according to others in Baghdad, where he died in the year of the Hejira 241 (A. D. 855). He could repeat no less than a million of Muhammed's traditions. Refusing to acknowledge the Koran to be

and *Dáúd Jsfaháni*,[1] (the mercy of God be upon them!) and the Jamáâtî, who followed them, came to a final conclusion, until the time of *Abd-Alah Kalabî*, and *Abî al Abas Kalánasî*, and *Háres Jben Asad Mahásebi*.[2] Although these were of the ancients, it happened that, by devoting themselves to scholastic theology, they became inflamed with it, but were not able to expound the creed of the ancients, in such a manner as to impart, by means of arguments, clear-

created, he was, by order of the Khalif Al Mótasem, severely scourged and imprisoned.

Ahmed Hanbal was the contemporary and friend of *Muhammed Ebn Edris al Shâfei*, the founder of the sect of the *Shafâites*. The latter was born in the year of the Hejira 150 (A. D. 767-8) either at Gaza or at Ascalone, in Palestine, and died in the year of the Hejira 204 (A. D. 819-20), in Egypt. He is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method (*ibid.*, p. 207).

To the names of the three founders of sects just mentioned, I am to add the name of *Abu Hanîfa al Noman Ebn Thabet*, who was born at Cufa, in the year of the Hejira 80 (A. D. 699), and died in the year 150 (A. D. 767). He is the founder of the sect called the *Hanefites*. This sect is reckoned, in the order of time, the first of the four orthodox sects of the Sonnites, distinguished by the title of "*the followers of reason*," whilst the other three are called "*the followers of traditions*." Of these three last, the sect founded by Mâlik Ebn Hans is the second; that instituted by Muhammed Ebn Edris al Shâfei, the third; and that of the followers of Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the fourth of the orthodox sects, acknowledged by the Sonnites.

[1] *Da'ú'd Isfahâni* was born in Cufa, in the year of the Hejira 202 (A. D. 817); he died A. H. 270 (A. D. 883) – (*Abulfeda*, vol. II. p. 261); he was the chief of one of the *six* orthodox sects of the Muhammedans (see hereafter the enumeration of these sects).

[2] Mahásebi died in the year of the Hejira 243 A. D. 875). — *Abulfeda*. II, p. 201.

ness to the fundamentals of theology, and their fervor and activity became doubled and increased, until by the intervention of the Shaikh *Abu 'l Hasen Asharî*,[1] and by his instruction in the precepts of rectitude and perfection an opposition appeared, and a dispute arose, and enmity displayed itself. Ashâri inclined to their side, and by opening roads to the fundamentals of theology, he lent strength to their endeavors, and this creed became the religion of the *Sonnites* and the *Jamâât*. The title of *Sifâtiah*, which they bore as a title of honor, was changed, and they called themselves *Ashârî*. As the *Ashârîâh* and

[1] *Abul 'l Hasan al Ashari* was first a Mótazalite, and the disciple of *Abu Ali al Jobbai*, from whom he disagreed in opinion as to God's being bound (as the Mótazalites assert) to do always that which is best, or most expedient; on which account he left his master, and founded a new sect, called the *Asha'rian*, who are a subdivision of the Sifatian. Their opinions were, that they allowed the attributes of God to be distinct from his essence, yet so as to forbid any comparison being made between God and his creatures. They further assert, after their master, that all the actions of men are subject to the power of God, being created by him, and that the power of man has no influence at all on that which he is empowered to do, but that, both the power and what is subject thereto, fall under the power of God. Manifold are the subtle distinctions in this abstruse subject; those who appear the least obscure, use this form: There is neither compulsion nor free liberty, but the way lies between the two; the power and will in man being both created by God, though the merit or guilt be imputed to man. Yet, after all, it is judged the safest way to follow the steps of the primitive Moslems, and, avoiding subtle disputations and too curious inquiries, to leave the knowledge of this matter wholly unto God.—(See Sale's *Koran*, vol. I. pp. 219-225.) Abul Hasan died in Baghdad in the year of the Hejira 324 or 329 (A. D. 935 or 940).—(Herbelot.)

Keramiah[1] are among the establishers of the divine attributes, they are acknowledged as two sects of the totality of the Sifâtîah. The principal point among the precepts of the Ashârîs is, that every being that may *really* exist must be perfect, that it may answer its own purpose; perfection is a necessity of existence, and the Lord Almighty is the *real* being: the necessity of the Lord God is always right, and the law by him is a salvation acquired, so that the faithful believers shall in the other world, by a beneficent necessity, become exalted:

" God said: ' Some countenances shall on that day look towards their " ' Lord.' "[2]

They say besides, that if he gave access to heaven to all creatures, or sent them to hell, it would not be unjust; because tyranny can be exercised every where except in his empire. They maintain also, that the office of an Imam becomes firm by union and election, not only by manifestation and esta-

[1] The *Keramian* are followers of *Muhammed Ebn Kerâm;* (who died in the year of the Hejirah 255 (A. D. 868) (*Abulfeda*, vol. II. p. 229), they are also called *Mojassemian*, or " Corporealists," who not only admitted a resemblance between God and created beings, but declared God to be corporeal. The more sober among them, indeed, when they applied the word " body" to God, would be understood to mean that he is *a self-subsisting being*, which with them is the definition of a body: but yet some of them affirmed him to be finite and circumscribed, and others allowed that he might be felt by the hand or seen by the eye.

[2] The Koran, ch. LXXV. v. 23.

blishment: because, if there was manifestation, it did not remain occult, and the excitements occasioned by the report of it were abundant. Upon the plank of the children of Sáâdah [1] they united to elect *Abubeker*; after having established Abubeker, they chose *Omar*; and after consultation *Osman*, and afterwards their choice fell upon *Alî* (the blessing of God, the Highest, be upon them all!). The order of their succession in the office of Imam was according to the order of their excellence.

An example of what was said about the ancients is to be found among the possessors of the sacred sayings, the Imam Ahmed Hanbal[2] and Dáúd Ebn Ali Muhammed Jsfahánî[3] and the Jamáâtî of the ancients (the blessing of God be upon them!) who proceeded as leaders upon the high road of the ancients, such as Málik Ans and Makábil Ben Solîman, and persevered upon the high road of peace, saying: "We made oath by the book and the Sonna, and we "were no opposers to the interpretation;" therefore they placed confidence in the book of God, and the Sonnites said: "We know that the Lord Al- "mighty is not like any thing that is created, and "none of the created beings is like the Lord Al- "mighty;" and they were very careful of the simile,

[1] Sáâdah is the name of a tract of Arabia.

[2] See page 328, note 2.

[3] See page 329, note 1.

and said: " Whoever makes a motion with his hand " in reciting these words:

' I created with my hands,'

" or extends his finger, repeating these words of " the sacred sayings:

' The heart of the believer is between two fingers of God the Merciful."

" it shall be necessary to cut off his hand." They said besides: " We persevere in the interpretation " of it, because there is a remedy for the heart, which " remedy proceeded from the heavenly revelation; " namely,

" They whose hearts are inclined to error will follow that which " is parabolical therein (the Koran), out of love of schism and a desire " of the interpretation thereof; yet none knoweth the interpretation " thereof, except God. But they who are well grounded in know- " ledge say: ' We believe therein the whole is from our Lord.' "[1]

" And we are safe from doubt, and the interpretation " of the command is fixed in our thought; by com- mon consent the word about the attributes of God " Almighty, interpreted according to opinion, is not " to be depended upon; it may sometimes happen " that we interpret it contrarily to the will of the " Lord God; we always fall into doubt and some " deviation from truth; but we say what the men " firm in knowledge say: that the whole is from the " Lord, the Almighty God; we manifested this

[1] The Koran, chap. III. v. 5.

" belief externally, and internally we acknowledged " it as true; we consign it to the Lord, the Al- " mighty God, and we are not perplexed by the " abstruseness of this knowledge, because to pos- " sess it, is not imposed upon us by the law of the " faith." Some have carried scrupulousness to that degree, that they do not interpret in Persian the words " hand, countenance, and strength;" but, like the *Hashaviyat Ashâriah*, they enjoined that whatever is contained in the Koran about strength, both hands, countenance, arrival, meeting, supremacy, and the words in the sacred sayings, such as:

" God created Adam after his own image."

and other expressions therein of a similar sort, are to be read in the very terms of the original, so that the words which there openly bear upon solid bodies, are understood by them in such a manner as to answer the belief of the religious sects and the attribution.

The author of this book heard, in the year of the Hejira 1048 (A. D. 1638) in the royal capital of Lahore, from *Mulla Adel*, of Kashghar, that he (the Mulla) has read in the revered book of his faith, and also the *lord Mawlâna Abd al rahmen Jâmî*[1] has stated,

[1] Abd al rahmen Ben Ahmed received his surname *Jami* from a place called Jám, very near Herat, in Khorasan, where he was born; he lived under the reign of sultan Hossain Bai kara, who issued from the family of

in his noble verses, that by the right faith it is necessary to believe in our heart, and to confess with our tongue, that the author of existence is independant, absolute, and without wants; and that his being is free of matter and without a form, and that he is better than whatever can be imagined; he existed primitively whilst the beings were in the mansions of nothingness; after which, as an object everlasting, he remained firm, and no other being but he is always, and one; but his greatness, his attributes, and his names are without measure and number, although in a thousand parts he is but one; in these however he is not confined; the qualities of his majesty are not perceived by the eye; and no being but he has life inherent in his qualities; but he lives neither by his spirit, nor breath, nor body, although he be living by himself. He is another universe, endowed with such a knowledge that the world has no superiority over him, and his omniscience comprehends the totalities and the parts, the inhabitants and the places, and the town of existence, in such a manner that not a grain of sand is without his knowledge; he is the author of every thing by his will, and

Tamerlan, and whose capital Herat was. Jâmî is one of the most celebrated Persian poets, author of a Divan, which contains the whole mystical theology of the Muselmans; of the Baharistan, or "the spring," a composition mixed with prose and verse; and of the romance Yûsef and Zulâikha, a most favourite poem of the Orientals. Jâmî died in the year of the Hejira 888 or 891 (A. D. 1483 or 1486).

the actions of all things may be voluntary, such as the doings of mankind; or natural, such as the inclination of a stone, and are all produced by his will.

"Not a thorn pricks without his will;
"Not a thread is broken without his direction."

He is strong, and possesses a perfect power; without the help of instruments he performs everything; from nothingness he brings forth beings; he hears without an ear; he sees without an eye:

"He hears the petition from afar and near:
"He sees, be there light or darkness."

He speaks, but his speech comes not from his throat, nor from the tongue and the palate; but what he announces or withholds is nothing more than his speech; and his silence is eloquence.

"When God, the Almighty, without words and letters
"Spoke to nothingness sublime mysteries,
"Nothingness was moved by delight at these speeches,
"Dancing through the area of existence."

The emergencies of the world, good or bad, are all from his disposition; and the actions pleasing or repulsive, are all his creation.

"The good and evil, if they be the necessities of predestination,
"The one is contrary, the other conformable, to his pleasure.
"He does what he likes, and knows of no hinderance nor favor;
"Who is possessed of power like his?
"Justice and virtue tend towards him,
"Injustice is foreign to his actions."

An account of the Angels.

The angels are neither females nor males, and are pure of all depravity and sins. Some of the first rank among them are entranced in the contemplation of the divine perfection which they witness, so that they are not aware of God Almighty having created the world and mankind. The second order of angels are the ministers of bodies and gigantic forms; the revolution of the heavens is their office; and with every drop of rain an angel comes down, and no leaf appears without an angel fostering it. But among the angels four are distinguished, namely: *Jabrîl*, *Isráfîl*, *Mâîkáil*, and *Azráîl*. The message of revelation is the business of Jabrîl; to sound the trumpet belongs to Isráfîl; the surety of professions is Mâikáil's; and Azráil seizes the souls. Four angels are the appointed guardians of mankind, and write down the good and the bad; two of them are occupied with this business during the day, and two during the night. The writers of the good keep the right side, those of the bad the left. The angels can in some form appear to men;

"Especially to the eyes of the guides of the ways,
"From among the possessors of constancy,[1] the prophets and apostles."

[1] This title is more particularly applied to Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammed.

The prophets are the select of God from among all the children of Adam and of the exalted angels, and the spirit of Satan can never hurt them , if, by an extraordinary emergency, one of them commits a fault, it is reckoned to be for giving good advice.

" Adam, at the moment when he tasted wheat,[1]
" Received the seed for the propagation of mankind;
" From the grain which he ate sprang up a tree;
" Life in me and in thee is its fruit."

Although there be among the prophets, as compared with each other, a higher and a lower rank in their exaltation, yet Muhammed the Arabian (may the blessing of God, the high and omnipotent, be upon him!) is the noble and excelling prophet, who unites all virtues and perfections.

" Before the intelligent, there is no messenger
" But Muhammed for all mankind."

He is the seal of God's prophets, and after him no other shall come, and when at the end of time the Messiah shall descend, he shall adopt the law of Muhammed; he shall convoke the nations to his religion ; the law of the prophet shall cancel all other laws.

" If the decision of the law of the sovereign (Muhammed) happens to be
" Corresponding with another law,

[1] According to some rabbins and to some Muselmans, wheat was the forbidden fruit which Adam eat.—(See upon this subject, *Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs, allégories d'Azz-eddin-el Mocadessi*, publiées en arabe avec une traduction française par M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 167, notes.)

" There is no obedience whatever due to the latter,
" Except from the circumstance of its being right according to the law
" of the prophet."

The ascent of the prophet[1] with his body happened during his being awake, as far as the mosque *Aksa*; there he mounted on the back of *Borák*,[2] and passed above the heavens. He saw all the prophets, and the stories of the heavens and the hells; in the heavenly mansion of Jabrîl (God be praised!) the angel remained behind him; then, by means of the arch he proceeded further.

" There was no confident but God;
" He saw what was to be seen, he heard what was to be heard;

[1] Muhammed, in the fifty-second year of his age and the twelfth of his preaching (A. D. 621), whilst lying asleep between the mountains Al Safa and Merva, in the vicinity of Mecca, had a vision in which he proceeded from earth through the seven heavens to the throne of God. Muhammed himself alludes to it twice in the Koran, the seventeenth chapter of which is entitled " the night journey;" but he mentions nothing else but a vision: it was the fanaticism of his followers which wrought the most strange circumstances into an absurd fable, according to which their prophet was visited by the angel Gabriel, and in his company carried first from Mecca to Jerusalem, and then, upon a ladder of light, to the presence of God.

[2] For the just mentioned miraculous journey, Gabriel had brought with him the sacred animal on which the prophets used to ride when executing a divine command; it was called *Al borak*, " flashing as lightning," in shape resembling an ass of a larger size, with a face like that of a man, the eyes brighter than the star Aldebaran, the ears of an elephant, the neck of a camel, the body of a horse, with the tail of a mule and hoofs of a bull; the breast of the animal shone like rubies, his legs like pearls, and a silken caparison of Paradise bedecked his back.—(See hereafter on the *Borak*, in chapter XI, the section " on the miracles of the prophet.")

" From thence he turned his face towards his dwelling;
" His place of repose had not yet become cold."

If this supernatural event was associated with the claim of prophecy, so was it a miracle, and if not, so was it divine favour; in the existence of the Lord prophet (the blessing and peace of God be with him) was a great number of miracles attesting his mission to the nations, and such ones as are not to be found with other prophets. There are many books attributed to God Almighty, and in their whole number one hundred and four are approved; but they are not confined to this number, and some of those which are known, are not praised.

" Every book which God has sent,
" Is received by the believing as revealing God's perfection.
" Such is the *Tawrit* (the Old Testament) this book of the Merciful,
" Which by tradition and writing came to Ibrahim."
" Another is the Gospel, which came down
" By the Messiah, and the psalms by Dáúd.
" A summary of all these four is the Koran,
" Which Muhammed has composed,
" The sense and the text of which is a wonder.
" When the eloquent men of Arabia united
" Breathe enchantment into the sounds of words,
" They become weak, defective, and vile
" Altogether, in comparison with the shortest Súrah."[1]

As the book of God contains divine words, it is ancient, and the letters and sounds are new; the novelty of an old meaning is like a dress.

[1] Surah means a chapter of the Koran.

" If the dress be perpetually with the heart,
" How can the person who possesses the dress be disturbed?"

The Muhammedan religion is among the most excellent and most noble religions, and the father of this religion, the prophet of Arabia, is the best and the most eminent among the saints of the religions; there is a number of prophets, particularly the friends and the posterity of the prophet, but none is higher than he, the prophet.

" Among them all there was, in truth,
" None more apt for the khalifat than Sidík (Abu beker);
" And to succeed him, there was among the noble
" None more worthy of the office than Fárúk (Omar);
" After Fárúk, from none more than Zo-ul Narain (Osman)
" Did the state of religion find ornament;
" After them all, by knowledge and faith,
" Was Asad Allah (Ali) the seal of the khalifs."[1]
" Do not bestow veneration upon other names but theirs;
" To none offer greater honors than to them."

When thou findest one of the people of the Kibla (the true faith) in a sin and fault, accuse him not of infidelity, and number him not among the people of damnation; in like manner, consider not a fit and good man, although he be removed from sins, as belonging to the inhabitants of heaven.

" Whoever is an unbeliever with a zunar,
" Do not consider him for certain as belonging to the inhabitants of hell."

Having found the happy tidings that ten person-

[1] See note, vol. I. pp. 99–100.

ages[1] have entered into heaven, do not however include him in their number.

"Because they are all formed of the pure offspring,
"They received also the happy tidings of going to heaven."

When any body is placed in the tomb, then two angels of a frightful appearance ask him: "Who was thy God, thy prophet, what thy creed?" If he give a right answer, then they keep his grave open, and make a window from heaven to it, that he may behold his future dwelling. But if his answer does not prove satisfactory, they beat his face soft with a club, and close the grave so tight upon him, that a noise issues from the compression of his sides; they also open a window from hell to him, so that he may there see his fate and his habitation. When the period of the world shall be terminated, the name of God shall not be pronounced by any tongue; then, by God's orders, shall Israfil sound the trumpet, and extinguish all like lamps; afterwards, during ages, there shall be no motion upon the face of the earth, until Israfil shall again, at God's order, by a blast of the trumpet blow the

[1] These ten personages are the four khalifs: I. Abubekr; II. Omar; III. Osman; and IV. Ali; then V. Talha; VI. Zohair ben Awam; VII. Saad ben Abu Wakkas; VIII. Abdur-rahmen ben Auf; IX. Abu Obaida ben Jarrah; and X. Saad ben Zaid. These are called the ten evangelists, to whom the Muhammedans add Hamzah and Jafar, and account them the twelve apostles of Muhammed. — (See *Eucologe musulman*, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1840, p. 200.

souls into the dispersed parts of their bodies, so that all shall revive. Afterwards, at the last judgment, the angels shall place the journal of actions recorded at the right hand of the virtuous, and at the left of the iniquitous. If the balance is weighed down by the good actions of a person, he goes to heaven; but if the scale, heavy with sins weighs down the other, hell awaits the sinner. This being brought to a close, an invisible bridge is thrown over hell; this bridge is sharper than the edge of a sword and thinner than a hair, and the believers and unbelievers are to be driven over it.

"When any unbeliever puts his foot upon it,
"The abyss of hell shall be his habitation."

The believer also shall, according to his knowledge and his actions, sooner or later pass over it; a weak faith shall not easily cross it.

"But he shall find salvation at the end of the business,
"Although he may see many difficulties."

There are fifty stations in the space on which the obedient and the rebels shall stop: upon each station another question is asked:

"He who gives a right answer
"Crosses each station with rapidity.
"But if not, in each, from a distressing condition,
"He suffers pain and grief during one thousand years."

The unbeliever shall suffer the torment of hell eternally; and the iniquitous believer shall remain in it, according to the estimation of his crimes.

" Either the entreaty of the intercessors
" Shall liberate him from the retribution and punishment,
" Or if, by intercession, the door of liberation does not open,
" The most merciful of the merciful shall bestow salvation."

When they come out of hell, they wash themselves clean of smoke in the *Kawser*.[1] There are eight gradations, or steps, in heaven; and every man, according to his knowledge and conduct, shares a place in them, and enjoys eternal beatitude. The highest of blessings is the sight of God, the Almighty, whom the good behold as the moon of fourteen nights. This is upon the authority of the lord Mulána Abd-ul rahmen Jami.[2] It is written in an esteemed book, that there are in hell eight steps, in which men are placed according to the estimation of their sins.

Here is a short account of what I have learned from the speeches of intelligent men of the right faith. It is contained in their books that the first being created was the spirit of Muhammed.

" The first creature of God was my soul."

[1] كوثر *Kawser* is a river of paradise, mentioned in the Koran (chap. CVIII). According to a tradition of Muhammed, the water of this river is whiter than milk or silver, sweeter than honey, smoother than cream, and more odoriferous than musk; its banks are of chrysolithes. This river supplies in two pipes the pond of the prophet, who describes it to be an exact square of a month's journey in compass. The cups to drink this water are of silver, and are set around as numerous as there are stars in the firmament. — (See Sale's *Koran*, vol. I. Prelim. Disc., p. 126; vol. II. p. 514.)

[2] See pp. 334–335, note 1.

To this allusion is made in the words quoted from the Koran. Then all the spirits of mankind were brought forth; these, before being united with bodies, remained four thousand years in the vicinity of the grace of the most high God:

"God created the souls four thousand years before the bodies."

The heavens are understood to be the heavenly bodies of the sphere which is over our heads, and this has seven circles; the earth is the cover of the tortoise which is beneath our feet. There are seven earths:

"Who created seven heavens and earths like them."

In each earth there are creatures, and among these creatures propagating inhabitants. The width of each earth is five hundred journeys of travel. The compartments of heaven are round; but in the middle of the circle is the tent of majesty; and in each sphere is an order of angels occupied with the worship and adoration of the divinity; one troop standing somewhat erect; another multitude inclined (with their hands on their knees); a number prostrated, with the forehead touching the ground; others sitting; some carry the throne of God; and every angel has a place and a post determined, which he cannot leave.

"Their place is a place known."

From sphere to sphere there is a distance to be

traversed in five hundred years of travelling; in each heaven is one of the seven planets, all the other stars are in the first heaven, which is the next to the world of mankind.

"We have adorned the inferior heaven with the ornament of stars,
"And we have preserved it from all obstinate demons."

The borders of heaven are upon the mount Kaf, and the throne of God[1] is higher than the seven spheres.

"He created the heavens and the earths."

Above the throne of God is the ninth sphere (ârsh).

"He created the heavens and the earths in ten days, and then took
"rest upon his throne."

The throne of God, the seven stories of heaven, and the seven *âshiânah* (nests, houses) of the earth are firm, and having taken their rest, do not move in any way, and are absolutely without motion.

All that has been enumerated did not exist in the beginning; the Almighty God created them without elementary matter by the action of his wisdom and absolute power. When the day of resurrection arrives, he shall fold together the heavens, and change the earth for another earth, and plunge the heavenly sphere and the earth into nothing. The

[1] Kersi: this is the crystaline or the empyrean heaven, as being supposed the throne of God.

earth of the resurrection will be like an earth of pure silver, and in this earth nobody shall have committed a crime. As the happy Abd ullah says:

"On the day when the earth shall be changed for another earth, "that is, shall be changed for an earth of white silver, where no "blood shall be shed, and no crimes shall be committed."

On the day of resurrection, heaven and hell shall be made ready; the dispersed members shall again form their body and be reunited; and the soul shall again take possession of them. Some shall be carried to heaven, others to hell. The first of mankind who was created was Adam; he was the father of men; his body was of earth; Adam was the father of all bodies, and Muhammed the father of all spirits.

"I was a prophet and a man, between water and earth;"

and all existence was brought forth according to, and in dependance upon, the existence of the prophet Muhammed.

The angels have wings to fly, with which they cross in one minute a distance of one thousand years' journey. Satan was brought forth from fire, and was accursed on account of disobedience.[1]

This is the greatest part of the creed professed by the people of Islam. They are divided into many sects. According to the account of some belonging

[1] Satan, or Iblis was cursed for refusing to worship Adam at God's command. This will be further developed in a note, vol. III. chapter VII.

to the persuasion of the Sonna and the Jamáât, the Mulla Muhammed Mâsúm, of Kashghar,[1] was a learned and virtuous man, and one of those who followed the doctrine of Hanefí, to whom he attached himself so much as to choose him for his master. His origin was from Badkahshán, and his name Shaikh Hossan; he always studied the Koran, the traditions, and other books of religion and law, and regulated his conduct after them; in such way he passed the day; he kept frequent fasts, never read poems nor listened to stories, and if any body uttered before him speeches of worldly people, he became angry. He was very cautious with the Shiâhs, and admitted them not to his house. The author of this book asked him, in Lahore: "What "is the cause of the aversion which you always "show to the Shiâhs. He replied: "I was origi- "nally a Shiâh, and therefore conformed myself to "that creed. One night I saw in a dream the lord "Imâm Hossen, the son of the lord Alí, the son "of Abí Taleb, and asked him about the real truth "of religion; he enjoined me; 'Be a Sonni, and "'keep away from the inconstant, for they are here- "'tics and idolators of my person, and then utter "'unbecoming words against the heads of reli- "'gion, Abubekr, Omar, and Osman, and by such "'an illusion they lost the right way: the way of

[1] A city in Turkistan.

" ' truth is the doctrine of the Sonnites and the " ' Jamáât.' "

Here follows what I have learned from the Shaikh Hossen, as well as from Mulla Aádil. A Shiâh is no Muselman, and when he brings forth his faith, it is not right, according to the saying of the prophet:

" Reviling the two shaikhs is an infidelity without repentance " (remission)."

I heard from Mulla Yâkub Tarsânî, that these words for restraining the tongue exceed all bounds, and are an exaggeration in the veneration of the two Shaikhs (the grace of God be upon them); that yet repentance (remission) is admitted; he said besides that it is agreed, reviling is no infidelity.

Shaikh Mans ur Máterîdî[1] became a follower of the lord Imám Abú Hanífa of Kufa, and *Hujjet ul islam*, " the proof of Islam," the Imám Muhammed Ghazáli,[2] who was a traveller on the same road with the

[1] *Mâteri'di'* was the surname of *Abu Mansu'r Muhammed al Hanefi'*. He was a doctor of the Hanefian sect, to whom the praise and title of *Ima'm al hada*, " the Imám, the director," was given. He died, and was buried in the year of the Hejirah 333 (A. D. 944–5) in the town of Samarkand, a native of which he was; *Mâteri'di'* is a quarter of this town whence he had his surname. This doctor was a *Motkalin*, that is, a great metaphysician and scholastic theologian; he composed, among many other works, a book entitled: *Bian vahem al Mâtazalah*, against the Mâtazale.—(*Herbelot sub voce Matridi*).

[2] *Muhammed Ghaza'li*, his full name is *Abu' Hamed Muhammed Ebn Muhammed*, surnamed *Hajjet ul islam Zain eddin al Tusi'*, born at Tus, in Khorasan, in the year of the Hejira 450 (A. D. 1058–9), the son of a merchant of cotton thread, *ghazal*, whence his surname *ghaza'li*; he died

lord Jmám Sháfâyat[1] (the peace of God be upon them!) said in their literary compositions, and in books we read, that the root and the foundation of the seventy and two branches of religion are six doctrines, namely: the *Tashbiah*, *Tâtîl*, *Jaber*, *Kadr*, *Rafs*, and *Naseb*.[2]

in 504 or 505 (A. D. 1110-11). In the latter half of his life, which extended very little beyond the half of a century, he composed more than one hundred works, several of which are thick volumes in folio, such as the most celebrated amongst them entitled *Jhyá' al âlum eddí'n*, "the revival of the sciences, concerning faith;" upon which the judgment was passed, that, were the Islam destroyed with all its works except this, from this alone it could be restored in all its perfection This great dogmatic, ethic, and philosophic work was nevertheless, during the author's life, condemned as heretical and consigned to the flames, by the Academy of Cordova, in Spain, the western Baghdad, or seat of Muhammedan learning. This composition of Ghaza'li has been abridged by *Abul Fas'el Ahmed ben Mussa al Arbeli*, under the title *Ruh al Ihyá'*, "the spirit of the book entitled Ihyá." See *Pocock Spec. Hist. Arab.*, p. 371; *Herbelot sub voce Ghaza'li'; Hammer's Gemäldesaal grosser moslimischer Herrsher, III^ter Band, S.* 182, 1837. By the last mentioned author was published a Biography of Ghazáli, as introduction to the text and translation of a treatise of Ghazali, under the title: "*O "Kind! die berühmteste ethishe Abhandlung of Ghaza'li,*" Vienne, 1838.

[1] See page 329.

[2] The sects may be distinguished by the names of their founders, and called *Hanefites, Asharian, Kerami'an, Shafeites,* etc.; or by the nature of their doctrine, and named *Sefatian*, "attributists;" *Matazalah*, "sepa- "ratists;" *Mashabian*, or *Tasbiah*, "assimilators," etc.; or by their relation to some established doctrine or community, and then entitled *Rafs*, "heretics;" *Navaseb*, "enemies;" finally, these sorts of distinctions may be mixed. No doubt, these various classifications burden the memory with a great number of names which may create confusion. I am sparing in introducing others than those which are in the text of the Dabistan. According to those distinctions, their number may be diversely stated.

In the *âmedat ul mâtekad*, "the pillar of believers," composed by *Shahâb ul hak*, "flame of truth," Shaikh of Islamism and of the Muselmans, *Abu abd ulla Faselella*, son of the Imám, the blessed, whom God has taken in his mercy, and whose sins are forgiven, *Taj eddin*, "the crown of the faith," *Abu Sâid al Hassan*, son of *Hassan*, son of *Yúsef al Súri*, is to be found, that the *Tashbîhîan*, "assimilators," have attached to the most high God improper and unsuitable attributes, inasmuch as they have connected his creation partly with an elementary principle, and partly with accidents. The *Tâtîlîan*, "the indifferent,"[1] have denied God and his attributes. In the before-mentioned book we find, the creed of this sect is, that the world has no Creator, and that it always was such as it is, and that, except what is surely perceived, there is no other existence.

We have also heard from Shaikh Hossen, that the *Tâi il* maintain what some philosophers asserted, that

We have already seen the principal sects reckoned to be *four;* here above are reckoned *six;* the author of *Shark-ol Mowakef* (Pocock, p. 209) enumerates *eight* principal sects.

[1] From تعطيل *tâti'l*, "neglecting, causing to be unemployed, render-"ing useless, vacation." Rigorously they are perhaps not to be declared atheists, as above: for their creed consists rather in denying the attributes of God, and in presenting him as inaccessible to human intelligence and strange to the government of the world, than in denying positively his existence. — (See *Chrestomathie Arabe*, tome II. p. 96, by *Silvestre de Sacy*.)

God is the cause of things, and that the matter of the world was always in him. We learned also from Azîzî, that, according to this sect, God, the Almighty, when he created the world, attached its destiny to every thing that appeared, and that now, without God's taking any active part in it, every thing exists or perishes.[1]

The sect of the *Jaberiah*, "the compelled," having given up, and denying, freedom of action in men, attach all their deeds to God.[2]

[1] The scholastics among the Muhammedans employ in their discussions principally two words: القضا, *al kaza*, and القدر, *al kadr*, necessarily annexed to each other, but still distinct by a nice sense particular to each: *al kaza'* signifies God's universal and eternal judgment or decree, by which the particular things are created and disposed so as they are to remain to all the ages of eternity; *al kadr* means God's will in bringing forth, at a determined time and by a determined cause, things in their proper measure and fixed proportion with regard to their essence as well as to their condition.—(*Pocock*, first edit., pp. 207-209.)

[2] There are three principal opinions about the decrees of God, and the power of man with regard to his actions, among the Muhammedans.

The first is that of the *Motazalahs*, according to which man is the agent in good and evil, in faith, and infidelity, in obedience and rebellion; all his actions are his; for it could not be said to man, "Act," if he had not the faculty of acting. Evil and iniquity can by no means be attributed to God; an infidel is composed of a man and of infidelity: God created the first, but not the latter.

The second opinion is that of the *rigid Jabariahs*, followers of *Jahmi Ebn Sefwan*, whose sect flourished about the middle of the eighth century. According to them there is no action but in God; man acts, without power his own, without will or choice, exactly as a tree produces fruits, as water runs, as a stone moves. Reward and punishment are

The *Kadariah*, " the powerful," affect God in themselves, and reckon themselves the creators of all their actions.[1]

The *Rafs*, " heretics," profess their devotion to Alí (the peace of God be with him!), and in the exaggeration of their affection, they make an unbecoming use of their tongue in reviling the illustrious Abubekr, Omar, and Osman (the peace of God be upon

likewise proceeding from necessity, as well as the imposition of orders comes from necessity.

The third opinion is that of the *moderate Jabariahs*, and also that of the Asharian, who maintain that God creates the actions of man, good as well as bad, but that man *acquires* them: that is to say, God creates the power by, under, and with, which man acts, but man wills the action, and prepares himself to it, which is called كسب, *kasb*, "acquisition;" an action therefore, with respect to creation, belongs to God, but with respect to production, by which it is manifested, that is, by " acquisi- " tion," it depends upon man, and falls under his power. Abul Hasan of Isfahan says, that what makes an impression upon a fact, are the power of God and the power of man *jointly*. When man applies his mind to obedience, God creates in him the action of obedience, and when he applies his mind to transgression, God creates in him the action of transgression; and in that respect it is man who brings into existence or produces his action, although in reality he be not the producer. — (See on this abstruse subject, Pocock, pp. 243-251, with quotations from several authors.)

[1] The *Kadariahs* or *Kadarian* belong to the Motazalah (Abul Faraj, p. 20). The Kadarian have been compared to the Magians, inasmuch as they acknowledge two principles, light and darkness, or good and evil; the first of which they ascribe to God, the other to man and to the devil; nevertheless, every thing belongs to God, as created by his will; that is, with respect to creation; but the actions belong to the actors.—(*Pocock*, pp. 234, 235, etc.)

them!); they rebelled, and went so far that, whoever did not, after the prophet of Arabia, without hesitation acknowledge the supremacy of Alí (the grace of God be with him!) and profess his being the chief of the faith and substitute of the prophet, was not reckoned by them among the Muselmans.

The *Nawaséb*, "enemies," are devoted to Abubekr and Omar, and having prevailed in this devotion, they rejected Alí (the mercy of God be upon him!) and proceeded so far that, whoever did not, after the great prophet, plainly and decidedly acknowledge Abubekr and Omar (the grace of God be with them!) as khalifs of the prophet, and as Imáms, was by them excluded from the circle of the right faith.

Each of these six sects was subdivided into twelve, whence seventy and two sects arose.[1] All are in the fire *of hell*, by the precepts of the sayings of the prophet:

"My nation is divided into seventy and three sects, who are all in the "fire *of hell*, except one."

And those only who are without these seventy and two sects belong to the people of salvation, because

[1] We have already seen, p. 323, that Muhammed has predicted the division of his followers into seventy-three sects (and not seventy-two, as above). Why seventy-three? It was (see *Pocock*, p. 211) to make Muhammedism have one sect more than Christianism, which had seventy-two, counting one more than Judaism, which, to have seventy-one, had added one to the seventy sects of Magism.

they are of the true religion and upon the right road; but the true religion is that which is not to be found among the sects mentioned, and in which those six religions are not likely not to be, because these six religions did not exist in the time of the prophet and in the last will of the apostle. After him innovations took place, so that it is not unknown, in what time, and in what place or town, and by whom they became manifest, and from what cause they originated. By concordance of the people of Islam, the right road and the true religion is that which Muhammed (blessing be upon him!) and after him the noble companions professed, and this faith is that of the Sonnites and the Jamáât. This is in substance the creed of Shaíkh *Mansúr*, and of *Hajet ul islám Abu Abd 'ulla*:[1] We are informed by the learned of the Hanefî persuasion, and by Mulla *Yakúb Turkhanî*, who was an assistant and companion of Mulla *Adil*, that the religion of the Sonnites and the Jamâát is divided into four branches, which are the four sides of the city of the law of Muhammed, namely, the *Hanefîah*, *Málkîah*, *Sháfâya*, *Hambalîah*,[2] and the wanderer in these four religions is liberated.

[1] See p. 349, notes 1 and 2.

[2] See the names of the founders of the four principal sects, notes, pp. 324-5, 328-9.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE UMAVIYAH AND YEZIDIAH CONNECTED WITH THE ALI-ILAHIAN.

In the east of Kohistan is a tract of country known by the name of *Shekúnah*, and the lord of it is Malek Yakúb, who boasts of having issued from the family of the lord of the believers, Mâaviah Ebn Abi Safîan. The inhabitants of that country are brave, warlike, pious, and abstemious. They have many commentaries, and knowledge of law and religion, and religious books. They acknowledge the divine mission of Muhammed (the blessing of God be upon him!) as well as the office of Imám and the khalifat of Abubekr and Omar, and of the lord of believers Mâaviah, and they revile Alî for having pretended to a divine rank. His belief was that they ought to possess all kinds of grain;[1] his followers worshipped him as divine; this he insinuated to them by this prayer, which he pronounced himself in the sermons, related as his saying:

> "I am God; I am the merciful; I am the bountiful; I am the high;
> "I am the creator; I am the provider of the necessaries of life; I am
> "the most compassionate; I am the most propitious; I am he who
> "bestows a form to the drop of the sperm in the wombs."[2]

[1] The meaning of this passage appears to me to be that Alî wished the Muselmans to apply to agriculture, which the Arabs generally despise or neglect.

[2] According to the most probable account of historians, it never was Alî who pretended to be a God, but *Abdallah*, son of *Wahab*, son of *Saba*,

and the like; these words are of Pharâún and Nimrod,[1] and like these are many of their sayings. They are besides fond of bloodshed, and cruel. They say improper things about the prophet, as of one who did not always behave with decency. So it happened once, that eating dates in company with other persons, the prophet threw the stones of the dates towards Alí, and then said: "O Alí! thou hast "eaten a great many dates, because all the stones "are before thee;" Ali answered, "Thou hast "swallowed them with the stones;" and they say this passage is in the sacred book:

"There are men whose speeches about the present life will astonish "thee, and who will take God for witness of what is in their heart, "whilst they are the most quarrelsome of adversaries."

And they are approving Ebn Maljám,[2] and say Maljám is among them:

a Jew converted to Islamism, who was the first instigator of the seditious movements to which Omar fell a victim, promulgated the doctrine, that a particle of divinity resided in Alí, the true Imám, that he is not dead, but only for a time withdrawn from the eyes of men; that he would reappear one day upon the earth, and fill it with justice, in the same manner as it is now filled with iniquities. This doctrine served as a foundation to the different sects which admitted the transmission of the Imamate to the descendants of Alí, by right of succession, and spread in the east and west of Asia, in Africa, and in Spain.

[1] Nimrod and Pharáun maintain, in the Koran and in the traditions of the Muhammedans, the same character as in the Bible of the Hebrews, for tyranny against men and presumption towards God; the first was the enemy of Abraham, the other of Moses: both were punished by God.

[2] *Ebn Maljam*, "the son of Maljam," was *Abd-ur-rahman*, who assassinated Alí.

"There are some men who rescue their soul, desiring in this man-
"ner to perform the will of God."

They assert that the two Hasâîn are not of the family of the prophet, according to this verse of the Koran:

"Muhammed is not any thing else but one of us; he is yet the
"prophet of God, and the seal of the Apostles."

They say that Yazîd killed Hasan, the son of Alí, in his house, and did not bring him forth from the corner where he was concealed.[1] He was come for

[1] We have already (see vol. I. p. 100. note) touched upon the enmity which existed between the family of Alí and that of Moaviah, the son of Abu Sofian and of Hinda, a woman famous for her animosity against Muhammed, the prophet. Nevertheless Moaviah became one of the secretaries of Muhammed, after whose death he was appointed to the government of Syria by Omar, and confirmed in that station by Osman. After the violent death of this khalif, Moaviah declared himself the avenger of his protector, and would not submit to Alí, upon whom he waged war during four years, and after whose death he opposed with equal ardour Hasan, who succeeded his father in the khalifat. Surrounded by rebellion in his own camp, Hasan could not resist, but resigned his right and person to Moaviah. He died in Medina of poison given him, as some say, by his wife, Jáda, or by his minister, at the injunction of Moaviah (see *Elmacin, trad. Erpenii*, p. 56); according to others, in concordance with the Dabistán, by the fraud of Moaviah's son, Yazid, who seduced Jáda, and instigated her to poison her husband, promising to marry her, but after the perpetration of the act, rejected, with scorn, the woman supplicating for the price of her deed. I shall add, according to *Abulfeda* (*edit. of Reiske*, p. 350), that in Hasan terminated (A. D. 661) the legitimate khalifat, or the succession of chiefs whom the free consent of the Muslims called and established, and thus was fulfilled the prediction of the prophet, which from the mouth of Safina, his freeman is recorded in the traditions as follows: "Thirty
"years after his decease shall last the true and legitimate khalifat, and
"then be succeeded by tyranny."

subduing the country of Bîrak; on that account he was put to death. On the tenth day of the Moheram, they go on horseback upon a wide field which is before their town; there they make, of earth, an image of Hosain who was killed; against him they dash their horses, and think fortunate those who can say, that they have been riding against the bodies of the martyrs of Kerbala;[1] this they call a day of victory, and on this day they make a greater show of festivity and rejoicing, because the Imám of the time, that is, Yazîd, was upon the field of victory. And on Fridays and festivals they revile from their pulpits the lord Alí and his offspring. Among them is one sect in particular which act in this manner, and, with their swords drawn, curse Alí and his

[1] After Moaviah's death, A. D. 679, Yazid, his son, assumed the khalifat, but Hosain, another son of Alí, still lived, and was invited by the inhabitants of Kufa to their town for receiving their oath of allegiance. Yielding to their invitation, he set out from Mecca, where he had concealed himself, with thirty-two horsemen and forty men on foot. Not far from Kerbela, in an arid tract of country in Jrak Arabi, he was encountered by five or ten thousand men, sent by Yazid to destroy him. The son of Alí bravely fought this superior force during one-half of the day, but at last fell, with four of his brothers, as many of his own sons, and all his surrounding friends, seventy-two in number. The survivors, his women, were conducted to Damascus, where Hosain's head, severed from his body, rejoiced the savage eyes of Yazid, now fixed in the khalifat. Hosain's relics (as mentioned vol. I. p. 48) lie buried at Kerbela. The anniversary of his death, the 30th September, A. D. 680, is still celebrated by the Shiâhs, with every imaginable demonstration of grief about the fate of Alí's posterity, and of execration of their oppressors.

sons, and in this way they pass one day: they are called *Stáf*, "fencers."

The same say that the prophet and his offspring, and particularly their prophet, had the power of recalling to life and putting to death, of creating and annihilating any being; and that they did whatever they wished. But this mode of acting was no more allowable to their successors, such as that of the prophets to destroy the living, which power they possessed on account of their having also that of recalling to life; but it is not one of our attributes to render lifeless the living, because we have not the power of restoring them to life; also because the creatures have not been made on our account; besides, the prophet took whatever mate he liked, because the world was his share, whilst it is not permitted to us to take the woman of another man. It is however right, making it our profession, to wage war against the opposers of faith, and to fight the enemies of religion for the protection of the law. This people kill no living beings in the country of Shekúnah. Their usual food is animal juice, such as honey, butter, and the like; they use no intoxicating liquors, nor that prepared from the palm-tree, nor opium.

Among the *Maksud chep*, who are a more intelligent people, the author of this book found himself in the house of one of them. There a man called *Hu-*

shiar Refik Nikarindah, asked him: "If it were not "permitted to drink intoxicating liquors, how was "it that the former prophets, and some of the kha- "lifs, the sons of Ommiah,[1] drank wine?" He answered: "The wine could not overcome their "understanding; with us, it is not so." Hushiar said again to the author of this work: "If the kha- "lifs, after the prophet, possessed the power to "create and to annihilate lives, why did they not "render the heretics dumb?" The answer was: "A king sent a phial of deadly poison to the Amir "of the believers, Omar (the grace of God be with "him!) that he may give it to an enemy; the kha- "lif said: 'I have no greater enemy than my own "'spirit,' and he drank the whole phial, from which "however his sacred body received no harm; now, "the gentle-minded personage, who could drink "poison, how would he not hear the abuse of mis-

[1] Ommiah, according to Herbelot (*sub voce*) is the name of a respectable personage among the Arabians, who was the son of *Abd-ul-shems*, and whose posterity bears the title of *benu Ommiah*, "the "children of Ommiah." But their celebrity begins with the before mentioned Moaviah; he was the first of fourteen khalifs of this family, who reigned in succession ninety-one years. The last of them was *Mervan Muhammed ben Mervan, ben Hakem*, and after him there remained of this family but *Abd-ur-rahmen*, who escaped from the hands of the Abbasides, and later (in 756 A. D.) established the dynasty of the Ommiades in Spain, where fifteen of them held successively the government during nearly two hundred years, until 986 A. D., when the Alides seized the sovereignty of that country.

" taken men? So represent to thyself the other " khalifs." The *Cheps* are a tribe of the people of Shekunah.

SECTION II: AN ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND SECT OF THE PEOPLE OF ISLAM, WHICH SECT IS KNOWN UNDER THE NAME OF SHI'AHS. — The author of this book was informed, by the learned of this sect, that they agreed to attribute the office of Imám and the khalifat, with the title of Amir of the believers, in particular to Alí (the peace of God be with him!) that he was established by clear tradition, or by manifestation or by testament; and they maintain that the khalifat was not alienable from the descendants of his highness, and if such a transgression happened, it can have been only by violence and by tyranny; they also said, that the office of an Imám is not to be given by the decision of a council, which may depend upon the choice of the vulgar, so that the Imám may be appointed by their injunction, but the true decision is that which derives its origin and support from the pillars of the faith; and the dignity of the prophetic asylum, *Muhammed* (may the benedictions of God be upon him!) does not deserve that there be negligence used or carelessness shown in such a matter, or that it be committed to the multitude. They argue thus upon the condition necessary for the

appointment of an Imám, upon its establishment and stability, which requires to be defended by the inferior and higher people. These are the opinions in which they agree about opposing or appointing an Imám, about words or deeds in the state of religion.

Some however, called *Zaydiyat*,[1] opposed them in what was said; and there is among the Shiâhs a great difference of opinion about the establishment of the Imám's office, and at all times, before us until later days, there was much discoursing about it: they differ widely about the number of the Imáms. They are divided in different sects, and we shall in this book give an account of what we have seen of them.

[1] The Zaydíyat derive their name from *Za'íd*, son of Alí, son of Zâin el-abeddin. They are subdivided into three branches, according to others into five, under as many chiefs. I shall only mention three. The first, the *Jarudí'yat*, think that the Imámate was destined by the prophet to Alí, but that after the two sons of the latter, Hasan and Hosain, the sacred office was uncertain in their children, and that those only who rose, sword in hand, were Imáms; they do not agree upon the last Imám, still expected. The second branch, the *Salaimaniyat*, admit the right of Abubekr and Omar to the Imámate, but declare as infidels Osman, Zobeir, and Aisha. The third branch, the *Ba'í'teriyat*, are for the most part in accordance with the second, as to what regards Osman. These three branches are heretics in the dogmas only, but, in jurisprudence, they follow almost all the orthodox doctrine of Abú Hanifâh. — (See *Journal asiatique*, 1825, tome VII. p. 32. Art. de M. de Hammer.)

OF THE TWELVE SECTS OF THE 'SHIAHS.

The author of this book relates what he has learned from Mulla Muhammed Mâsúm, from Muhammed Múmin, and from Mulla Ibrahim, who in the year of the Hejira 1053 (A. D. 1643) were in Lahore, and from others. The Mulla Ibrahim had great faith in his religion, and had a great aversion to the followers of the Sonna and the Jamaât, whom he never approached at meals; he did not during six months taste any butter in Lahore, because it happened to be a Hindu or Sonnite who was selling it. He said: "In the beginning of my manhood, I once slept in "a field, and saw in a dream a great host of lumi- "nous beings, who said to me: 'Be a Muselman.' "I answered: 'Such is my inclination.' They said "again: 'Take care of not being a Sonnite;' and "they added much about this subject to dissuade "me from it. When they had disappeared, I asked "their followers: 'Who were they?' They replied: "'Imáms.' When I awoke, from that moment "I never associated with the Sonnites."

With this sect there is but one Lord God, and no other: he is one, living, omniscient, self-acting, almighty, hearing and seeing every thing, and the first of speakers; they acknowledge his power, not only over possible, but even impossible things; they consider God Almighty as possessed of quali-

ties necessarily inherent in his essence; they hold the servant of God to be master of his own actions. With them the word of God is not ancient, but it is a novelty, because its meaning is understood from sounds. They adduce the words of *Abu Jâfr Túsî*[1] the mercy of God be with him!), who says that, fundamentally considered, the seventy and three sects are only two religions, namely: *Navá seb*, "the ene- "mies of Alí," and *Ravafés*, "heretics" (the Shiâhs), because on the day on which Muhammed (the peace of God be upon him!) left the *mortal* garment, there were forty thousand companions present, who all acknowledged, with approbation and satisfaction, Abubekr as khalif, except eighteen persons, who were attached to Alí (the peace of God be with him!) who were joined by seventeen other individuals, who, averse to Abubekr, did not acknowledge him, nor give their consent to his khalifat. He said of these seventeen, *rafas á na*, "they abandoned me," or "they separated from me," whence they received

[1] Túsí is the name of several celebrated men from the town of *Tu's*. There are two towns of that name: the one in Transoxana, in the domain of Bochára; the other in Khorasan; the latter consists of two towns, one is called *Tabaran*, the other *Nu'kan*. — (*Abulfeda, Annales Moslemica*, vol. III. p. 375.) We know several authors named *Abu' Jâfar*, to whom the words above quoted may be attributed, none with the surname *Tu'si'*. The author above meant is perhaps *Abu' Jâfar al Tabari*, celebrated historian, born in the year of the Hejira 224 (A. D. 838), deceased in 310 (A. D. 922).

the name *ravâfés*, "schismatics;" and those eighteen persons said to the companions:

"You have appointed Abubekr without inauguration."

that is: "You raised to the khalifat Abubekr, without having due sanction for it;" on which account they received the title of *Navâséb*, "enemies," and each of these two sects had two names; the one their own, on account of the part which they took in the appointment of the khalif, and the other name, which their antagonist or enemy gave them; all the companions called themselves *the people of the faith*, or *the people of the Sonnat and Jamâât*, whilst those eighteen persons called them *navâseb*, "enemies," and to themselves they gave the title of *mûmin*, "believers," and *Shiâhs*, "troop," but all the companions named them *Ráfés*, "heretics." Afterwards, the religion of the Navâséb divided itself into fifty and five sects, and that of the Ravâfés into eighteen, as it was said:

"All are in the fire of hell, except one."

Of these sects, one only is to belong to the people of salvation, because they profess the right faith, and this right faith consists in believing the unity, the justice of God, the dignity of the prophet and of the Imâm, and the resurrection, and in maintaining the truth of each of these five articles. As God Almighty thinks good to choose one among his

servants, whom he sends as his prophet and apostle, that he may announce the right way to his subjects and creatures, he who is sent must be pure of all our venial and mortal sins; his word is to be a mediation between God and man; and the prophet, who is sent by God, finds it necessary to choose one like him to fill his place after him, and this substitute must also be pure of all venial and mortal sins; this substitute, or khalif, must choose one who may take his place after him, so that the centre of the face of the earth may never remain destitute of Imáms; and that, by the reasoning of wisdom and by his efforts, the decisions in the law may be preserved right, and the collection of proofs not lose its purity among them. Muhammed chose Alí, and appointed him his executor and khalif, and Alí, after Muhammed, was the best and wisest of all prophets of the family; the other Imáms (the blessing of God be upon them!) were his sons; as the first, so were the last, and at the end they remained the same as they had been in the beginning. The number of Imáms, according to the *Akhbár Nabi*, "History of "the Prophets," was twelve,[1] eleven of them passed

[1] The twelve Imáms are as follow:

I. Alí', khalif and Imám, was murdered A. D. 661.

II. Hasan, eldest son of Alí, khalif and Imám, poisoned A. D. 669.

III. Hosain, the second son of Alí, killed in battle A. D 680.

IV. Alí', surnamed *Zin alâbedin*, eldest son of Hosain, died A. D. 712.

V. Muhamed Beker, son of Alí, poisoned A. D. 734.

to the other world, the twelfth is living for ever; at last he shall appear, and render the world as full of virtue as it is now full of injustice and tyranny.

They say, that Abubekr, Omar, and Osman, and the children of Amîah, and Abasíah, their companions, usurped the dignity of Imáms, on which account they revile them. Some of them assert that Osmán burnt some volumes of the Koran, and threw away some of the surahs, which were in favor of Alí and of his descendants; of which the following is one:[1]

In the name of the bountiful and merciful God.

O you who have faith, believe in the two lights, *Muhammed* and *Ali*, whom we have sent, and who recite our verses to

VI Jafr Sadik, son of Muhammed, died A. D. 765.

VII. Isma'il, son of Jáfr; see hereafter the account of the Ismâilah. Herbelot names, as the seventh Imâm, Mussa, the second son of Jáfr, surnamed *al Kiadhem*, "the debonnair," and also *saber*, "the "patient," and *a'min*, "the faithful guardian." The latter died A. D. 799.

VIII. Alí' Reza, son of Mussa, poisoned A. D. 816.

IX. Muhammed, son of Alí Reza, called also *Abú Jafr Muhammed*, died A. D. 835.

X Alí' Askeri', son of Muhammed, poisoned A. D. 868.

XI. Hasan, son of Alí Askeri, died poisoned A. D. 873.

XII. Muhammed, son of Hasan, surnamed *Mahadi*, "conductor, director;" he is supposed to be still living, and expected to appear with the prophet Elias, at the second coming of Jesus Christ.

It may be remarked that, of the twelve holy men, seven died a violent death, and two in an unknown manner.

[1] I follow here the French translation of the Arabic text, made by M. Garcin de Tassy. (See *Journal asiatique*, *mai* 1842, pp. 436-439.

you, and put you on your guard against the chastisement of the great day. These two lights *proceed* the one from the the other. As to myself, I understand and I know.

Those who fulfil the order of God and of his prophet, such as it is given to them in the verses of the Koran, those shall enjoy the gardens of delight. As to those who, after having believed, became infidels by transgressing their compact, and what the prophet had stipulated for them, they shall be thrown into hell, because they have unjustly treated their own souls, and have disobeyed the preaching prophet. These shall be drenched with hot water.

It is God who illuminated the heavens and the earth, as it was his pleasure; who made his choice among the angels and prophets; who placed the latter among the number of believers in the midst of his creatures.—God does what he wills: there is but he, the bountiful and merciful God.

Those who preceded them, have already machinated against their prophets; but I have punished them for their perfidy, and, certainly, my punishment is violent and severe. God had already destroyed Ad [1] and Tamud, [2] on account of their crimes; he made of them an example for warning you. Shall you then not fear?

Because Pharaoh acted tyrannically towards Moses and his brother Aaron, I drowned him in the waters, as well as those who followed him, in order that it may serve as a sign for you

[1] *Ad* was an ancient and potent tribe of Arabs in the province of Hadramant. They chiefly worshipped four deities; *Sakia*, supplying them with rain; *Ha'fetha*, preserving them from all dangers abroad; *Ra'zeka*, providing them with food; and *Sa'lema*, restoring the sick to health. Frequent mention of them occurs in the Koran.

[2] The tribe of *Tamud* dwelt first in the country of the Adites, then removed to the territory of Hejr, where their habitations, cut in the rocks, are seen at this day. (See Sale's Koran, vol. I. pp. 7. 9. 196. 199.)

Many among you are prevaricators; but God will assemble them all on the day of resurrection; and they will not be able to answer when interrogated by him: certainly, hell is their habitation. God is all-knowing and wise.

O prophet! my advertisement arrived (at its destination); perhaps will they act (conformably to it). Those who turned away from my words have already experienced detriment. Are they comparable to those who accomplish thy ordinances, and whom I will reward by the gardens of delight? For God is the Lord of mercy and great rewards.

Ali is of the number of pious; we shall restore him his right on the day of judgment. We are not ignorant of their intention to defraud him. We have honored him more than all thy family. He and his race are of the number of sufferers, and certainly their enemy is the Imam of sinners. [1]

Say to those who became infidels after having believed: "You have sought after the comforts of the present life, and "you have been eager in the pursuit of them; but you have "forgotten what God and his prophet have promised you. "You have broken the engagements which you had taken in a "formal manner; yet we quoted to you examples, in the hope "that you would follow the good direction."

O prophet, we have sent thee clear verses. Those who were faithful, and attached themselves to them, will receive assistance after thee. Turn away from those who turn away from me. Certainly, he shall make them appear on the day on which nothing shall avail them, and when they will have no pity to hope for. Their habitation shall be hell, from which they shall not be removed.

Celebrate the name of thy lord, and be of the number of his adorers. We have already sent Moses, and Aaron, and

[1] Moavia.

those who followed them; but they treated Aaron unjustly. Patience is an excellent virtue. Among them we changed some into apes[1] and hogs; we cursed them until the day of resurrection. Have patience; certainly they shall be punished.

We have gratified thee with an authority equal to that which was possessed by the messengers who preceded thee, and we have given thee instructions in their persons. Perhaps mankind will be converted. He who turns away from my command shall be soon called away by me *from this world*. Let them therefore enjoy some time their impiety. Ask no information concerning the violators of God's law.

O prophet, we granted thee the power of loading the neck of those who believed in the strength of a compact which we contract. Be thou of the number of the grateful.

Certainly, Ali is pious. He passes the night prostrate *before God*. He is cautious with respect to another life, and he hopes to merit the reward of his Lord. Say, will they be treated in the same manner, they who have acted unjustly, although they knew the chastisement which I prepare for them? Chains shall be put on their necks, and they shall repent of their acts.

We have announced to thee a progeny of just men,[2] who will not oppose my commands. My bounty and mercy are upon them, living or dead,[3] until the day of resurrection. My anger is against those who act tyrannically towards thy posterity; wicked men who shall suffer the pain *which they deserve*.

As to those who walked upon the road of thy posterity, my mercy is granted to them, and they shall be safe in the kiosques *of paradise*. Glory to God, King of the creatures."

[1] Koran, chap. VII. v. 165.

[2] Allusion to the twelve Imáms. See their names, pp. 367. 368, note 1.

[3] Allusion to the twelfth Imám, named Mahdi. See hereafter a further explanation.

THE RELIGION OF THE AKHBA'RIN.[1]

Mulla Muhammed Amîn, of Asterábád,[2] gave currency in this time to this religion: they say, after having acquired the natural and revealed sciences, he made a pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca, and after having critically examined the sacred sayings, he adhered to what he thought the right sense, and composed the work *Fava-íd Madaníy*, "Useful Notes, "by a Citizen of Medina." In the book *Danish nameh, Káteb Sháhî*, which was written for the use of Dárái Sekander Dostgáh Muhammed Kalí Kateb Shah, it is stated, that the exalted wish and furthermost intent is the knowledge of what is particular

[1] The word *Akhbarí'n* is frequently employed to designate "the "transmitters of historical traditions," in opposition to محدثين *muhad-disin*, "transmitters of traditions relative to the prophet;" but above it is employed as the name of a distinct sect. I shall translate it by "dogmatical traditionists." It is taken in a much wider sense by the author of the Dabistán, who does not fix the precise epoch of the origin of this sect, but only says that it was in after times called *ghaibet sarí;* of which name an explanation will be given hereafter.

[2] *Amín*, "faithful," is a title given to many Imáms, Shaikhs, and Mullas.

Asterabad is the capital of the province of Georgia; some Oriental geographers place the town in that of Tabaristan, and others in that of Mazendaran, as these three provinces, which together formed the ancient Hyrcania, were often united under one denomination. Herbelot mentions two authors with the surname *Asterabadi*, both commentators of the Arabic Grammar Cafiah, which seems to have no connection with the religion above mentioned.

to the origin and end, and the explanation of this meaning is contained in the verse of the merciful:

"The faith in God, and in the dya of eternal life."

And the tradition of the noble Amír of the believers and the adored Imám (the blessing of God and peace be upon them and upon their holy descendants)

"God take compassion upon the man of whom I know from whence he "came, where he is, and whither he goes,"

entered into this meaning. The learned, in the maintenance of this station, divided into several sects. The one sect established this station by investigation and evidence; then a division of this sect rendered it obligatory not to say any thing contrary to the possessors of revelation, and these are called *Matkalmin*,[1] "scholastics," for the reason that they have composed the science of scholastic theology, on account of rational considerations, and have enlarged argumentation in the science of scholastic dialectics and theological questions.

Another sect did not bind themselves in their reasoning; they are called *Hukmá máshâyîn*,[2] "the

[1] See note, p. 327, note 1.

[2] *Ma shayi'n*, may be deduced from مشى *ma'shi'*, "walking, going," and alludes to the peripatetic philosophers, who were followers of Aristotle, and were wont to discuss walking up and down in the Lyceum of Athens. Referred to مشاية *mashi'yi-at* (from مشيّ *mash'iyi'*),

"walking philosophers," because their first founders followed the stirrup of *Arastu* (Aristotle),[1] and at the time when Arastu, as Vizir of *Iskander* (Alexander) was walking to and from the palace of this king; they took the opportunity of being instructed in science by this philosopher.

Another sect adopted this doctrine with pious austerities. Afterwards, a division of this sect made an application of this doctrine as necessary to the Koran, and took care not to maintain any thing contrary to the companions of the revelation, and these are called *Sofis matsherâîn*, "orthodox Sofis." Another sect did not believe this necessary, and these are entitled *Hukmá âshrákîn*, to whom *Aflátún* (Plato)[2] who was the preceptor of Arastú, furnished lessons and instructions of piety.

Another class adopted this doctrine with a view

"willing, wishing, desiring," the word may signify knowledge-desiring philosophers; مشايع *mushá'i'á*, means "a follower, adherent, com-
"panion."

[1] The Orientals give to Aristotle the surname of *Ilahi'yún*, "the "divine." They attribute to him more than one hundred treatises upon different matters. The greatest part of his works, such as we have them, have all been translated into Syriac and Arabic; it was through this medium, that the great philosopher became first known in Europe.

[2] The Orientals attribute more than sixty-five treatises to Plato. They relate that, being asked what he thought of this world, he answered: "I entered into it by necessity; I dwelt in it with admiration; and I "leave it with contempt." Al Ghazali (before-mentioned, see p. 349, n. 2), among other distinguished Orientals, wrote a book, called *Monketh*, upon Greek philosophy, not without condemning several of its dogmas.

to the precepts of the possessors of holiness, and made it a necessary condition that in all questions about customs, in which reason is *likely* to err, they should strictly adhere to the sayings of the possessors of holiness; and these are called *Akhbárîn*. The companions of the pure Imáms (the blessing and peace of God be upon them!) all observed this rule, and the Imáms (peace be upon them!) prohibited them the science of scholastic theology, and the science of the fundamentals of religion and law, which have been collected according to the views of the intelligent; and likewise they prohibited the science of jurisprudence, which has been composed as an abstract of opinions, for this reason: because, safe from error, one is inclosed in what is right by the words of the possessors of holiness, and because many contradictions and discordancies occur in the three sciences.[1] As it is evident and clear that there

[1] The author mentions three sciences, viz.: فان قلام *fa'n kala'm*, "the science of scholastic theology; فن أصول فقه *fa'n a's ul fikah*, "the science of the fundamentals of religion and law;" and فن فقه *fan fikah*, "jurisprudence." We have already explained the first (see note 1, p. 327); the four fundamental articles of the faith have been also enumerated (see note 1, p. 324); but the *fikah*, "jurisprudence," although stated as distinct, in reality comprehends the two first, and in addition shows only the practical application of them. Al Ghazali, quoted by Pococke (pp. 200-201, etc., 1st edit.), after having said that this world is created for furnishing assistance on the way to future life, in order that men, with a due check on cupidity, may take as much of this world as may be sufficient

are no contradictions in truth, so certainly one of the different opinions is false. The Imáms also instructed their companions in the science of scholastic dialectics, in the science of the fundam etals of religion and of law, and in jurisprudence; but these three sciences are, in many of the questions, not without contradiction with the sciences which the professors of common religion have combined. The lords of the temple (peace be upon them!) have declared, " that in the three sciences, as received " by the generality of the people, truth is that which " from us is come to them, and error is whatever

for a viaticum, and after having declared, that the jurist is to be the director of the king in the mode of retaining the people in due order, subjoins: " This science (the law) belongs to religion, although not by " itself, yet by the intervention of the world. For the world is a field " which is sown for the future, nor is religion put into practice, if not by " the world. But religion and government are twin-brothers; religion " is the foundation, and the king the guardian; but what wants a founda- " tion, verges to ruin, and what has no guardian, goes off into nothing, " etc., etc." The same intimate junction of religion and civil law, which is acknowledged to prevail in the legislation of the Hindus, as well as in that of the ancient Hebrews and Persians, has passed into that of the Muhammedans. Just as the Vedas with the first, the five books of Moses with the second, the writings of Zoroaster with the third, so is the Koran with the fourth, the foundation of their code, and contains what we may call their whole civil and canonical law. With respect to the last-mentioned book, as it contains likewise all the articles of faith, it follows, that a doctor in law is also a doctor in theology; or a *faki* is at the same time a lawyer and a theologian: hence the word *al faqui* in the language of the Spaniards, who have preserved to our days, in their character and manners, not a little of their former conquerors, the Saracens.

" originate from their conceptions." The doctrine of the *Akhbárîn*, in after times called *Ghâibet sâry*, " the minor absence," which by some is reckoned among the traditions of the seventy-and-three, and by others among the traditions of the seventy four sects, became diffused among the learned of the *Imámiyat;* although it was also known among the first of the *Ghâibet' Kaberî*, " the great " absence," and the companions of the Imáms (peace be upon them!) after having received the three sciences from the people of the temple (blessing be upon them!), formed a collection of them in a book according to their direction; it was to this that the people of the temple referred in their belief and actions, until the time of the Ghâibet Kaberî of the Shíahs, and this book, by way of continuation, was brought down to the times of the moderns; the entire work, which was compiled by the trusty friend of the right faith, *Muhammed ben Yâkúb al Kalbiy*,[2] (may his tomb be sanctified!) comprehends the three sciences.

[1] Upon *ghaibet*, " absence, disappearance, concealment" (see hereafter, p. 383, an explanatory note).

[2] Muhammed ben Yâkub is the author of the book entitled القاموس *Ka'mu's*, " the ocean of the Arabic language." He was born in the year of the Hejira 729, A. D. 1328, and died in 816, A. D. 1413, surnamed Al Shirazi, and Al *Firuzabadi*, the last is a town situated in the environs of Shiraz, the capital of *Fars*, or Persia proper. I do not, however, find elsewhere the title *al Kalbi*, " cordial," joined to his name.

Further, when *Muhammed ben Ahmed Aljanâîd*, who was eminent in analogy,[1] and *Hassen ben Hassâîn ben Alî, ben Abî âkîl*, a lofty scholastic theologian, appeared, and were violent jurists; in their time, the circle of teaching and learning the common religion being in the colleges and schools, they studied the book of theology, and the book of the fundamentals of the common religion; but as they did not possess all the expertness required for the science of the fundamentals of religion and for that of theology, which were derived by tradition from the Imâms, they adapted to the common religion some among the subjects of scrutiny in the science of scholastic theology, and in that of the fundamentals of theology: and made choice of a doctrine which was a mixture of the doctrine of the Akhbârîns and of that of the common religion, and so laid the foundation of rational dialectics.[2] After

[1] The term in the text is القياس *al ki'a's*. Abu Hanifa and his commentators are commonly called *ahel al ki'a's*, "men of analogy," because they applied the process of analysis to the study of sacred tradition, and rely more upon deductions of human judgment than upon a rigid fidelity to the precepts of the Sonna.

[2] I render in this place by "rational dialectics" the word اجتهاد *ijtihad*, which signifies properly, according to Silvestre de Sacy, an opinion in religious matters, founded upon reasoning, and deduced from the Koran or the Sonna, by way of comparison or induction. It may therefore be interpreted, as in the sequel, by "ratiocination, discussion, "contentious arguing, reasoning, etc., etc." It signifies also "study, "effort, war against infidels."—(See also upon *Istihad*, *As. Res.*, vol. X. p. 492.

them, *Shaikh Mafid*, " the beneficent Shaikh," (the mercy of God be with him!) that is, the Shaikh *Abú Jâfr*, on account of heedlessness and of the good opinion of those two eminent men, conformed himself to them, and he formed, in scholastic theology and in fundamental jurisprudence, a system of doctrine, mixing with that of the common religion that of the Akhbarîn, and that of the *Asulîn*, " solid reasoners;" on that account, the learned of the Imámíyat sect divided into *Akhbárîn* and *Asulîn*. Likewise *Alámah hallî*, " the most learned ornament,"[1] that is, Shaikh *Jemál eddin mátaher*, has exhausted to the utmost this subject, in the discussion about prophecy and unity, and at last the *sharh movákef*,[2] " explanation of the stations" and the origins of the book of religions and attributes have also been elucidated by it. When shaikh *Mafid, istáz-îlm alihadî*, " the teacher of the science of direction," that is, *Saíd Mírtasí*, lived, and was the *istáz rais al taifah*, " chief teacher of the sect," this religion was diffused among the learned of the Jmámîyat, until the time of the most learned of the East and the West, *Alámah-hallî*; and as, penetrating into the depth of know-

[1] علامه حلی is a surname which never occurred to me in any other book which I have consulted, and the translation of which does not satisfy me.

[2] *Mova'kef* means properly " stations," such as those of the Muselmans in their pilgrimages and visits to sacred places; but this word serves as a title to several books or treatises of metaphysics and scholastic theology.

ledge, he, *Alámah-halli*, surpassed in the sciences *Ebn Janaíd*, and *Ebn abî âkîl*, and the shaikh *Mafîd*; they gave a greater expansion and currency to the mixt religion in the book of scholastic and fundamental theology, and in the controversial dialectics relative to faith and law, established the mixt religion. As the *ahádís*,[1] "traditions" of the common religion, on the subjects of revelation and unity, were not exempt from adulterations, they published the series of traditions in their own book, divided into four parts. And Alámah-hallî (the mercy of God be with him!) on account of heedless confidence divided into four parts the traditions of his book, and the book of the sect of the *Mahakah*, "the as-"serters of truth," in such a manner as was also manifested by the *Ilm ilahadî*, "the science of the "direction" (revelation), and the *ra-is* (chief) of the sect, and *sikat al islám*, "the trusty friend of the "right faith," and head of the Shaiks, *Alsadik*, "speaker of truth," that is. *Muhammed Ebn Bábúyah*[2] *Alkamî*; and others: hence the whole tribe *Mahakah*

[1] احاديث *aha'dí's*, means sometimes the tenets of the Koran, at others, the sayings relative to Muhammed, five thousand two hundred and sixty-six in number; according to some writers, seven thousand, genuine and forged.

[2] The manuscript of Oude reads ابن بالونه *Ebn Balú'nah*. Want of accuracy in proper names is particularly to be regretted in the historical part of any work; it prevents me, particularly in this place, from giving a positive notice of each of the persons introduced in the text.

professed this as true, and, after *Alámah-hally*, the shaikh *Shahîd awl*, " the first witness," that is, the shaikh *Muhammed maki*, made it the rule of his religion, and laid the foundation of his literary works upon it; after them, the *sultan Almadkakín*, " the " sultan of the refiners " (acute investigators), shaikh *Alî* (the mercy of God be upon him!) conformed himself to them, and *Al âalem al rabánî*, *Shahid-alsánî*, " the learned of the world, the doctor of divinity, " the second witness," that is, the shaikh *Zin eddin* " the ornament of the faith, *Jabel al âamlî* (the mercy of God Almighty be with him!) took also the rule of this religion. This was until the time arrived for the learned of the moderns, in the science of *Muhammedan* traditions, and the science of biographies and characters of persons to whom the traditions were handed down, and the most pious among them, the master of the whole in the whole, that is, *Mirza Muhammed of Asterabâd* (may the light of God illume his tomb!). *He said:*[1] " At last, as a sequel to this, he " (Jabel) instructed me, a humble individual, in all " the sciences relative to the traditions, and gave me " this injunction: ' Revive thou the religion of the

[1] The two words in italic are not in the text of the edition of Calcutta, nor in the manuscript of Oude. We find here abruptly a passage, distinguished in the translation by marks of quotation, which belongs to the author of the *Fava'id al madany* (see p. 372), and makes, perhaps, a part of the preface of this work.

" ' Akhbárîn, and if any doubt arise, that creates an
" ' opposition to this creed, discard that doubt.'
" And this doctrine has fixed itself in my mind.
" But it was decreed by the Lord of Glory that it
" should be manifested through my pen. After-
" wards, having received all the praised sciences
" from the greatest of the learned, I, humble indi-
" vidual, during some years staying in the splen-
" did town of Medina, bowed my head under the
" collar of meditation, and humbled myself at the
" door of the temple of the Lord of Glory; I sought
" refuge with the spirits of the sacred place of the
" companions of prophecy, and I repeated afresh
" the sacred sayings, and the book of the common
" religion; that is, that of the opposers to the
" Imámíyat, and the special book, that is, that of
" the Imámíyat; in order to perfect myself in pene-
" tration and meditation; so that, by the favor of
" the Lord of Glory, and by the benedictions of the
" prince of prophets (Muhammed), and of the pure
" Imáms (the blessing and peace of God be upon
" them all!) by the direction of him, to whom obe-
" dience is due, I conformed to what was right, and
" succeeded in composing the *Favâid madaníy*, ' The
" ' Useful Notes, by a Citizen of Medina.' " Sub-
quently, Muhammed Asterabádí had the honor of
being instructed by the most noble of this sect; after-
wards they approved his composition, and congra-

tulated the author upon it. (The mercy of God be upon them!)"

Among the Imámíahs it is decided that the Imám *Muhammed, son of Hassan Askery*,[1] is still alive, but concealed from view; they divide the time of his absence into two epochs;[2] namely, "the minor

[1] We have (see note 1, p. 367. 368) given the names of the twelve Imáms The tenth, Alí, born in the year of the Hejira 212. A. D. 827, being kept a close prisoner all his life in the city of *Askar*, called also *Sermenrai*, in Syria, he devoted himself to study and religious exercises, but did not succeed in calming the jealousy of the ruling khalif, an Abbaside of the family of Motavakel, the mortal enemy of the whole race of Alí, and was poisoned in 868 A. D.

The name "Askerite," from the city of Askar, was also given to his son Hasan, above-mentioned, the eleventh Imám, whose son, Muhammed, born in 868 A. D., also called Abu 'l Cassem, as the prophet Muhammed, was the last of the twelve Imáms. He is distinguished by the surnames *Mantazar*, "the expected;" *Kayim*, "the stable;" *Mahdi*, "the director, guide;" and others. The followers of this Imám say, that in his ninth year he was concealed by his mother in a cell or grot, from which he had not returned in the year 899 A. D.—(See *Abulfeda. Hist. Moslem.*, vol. II. p. 223.) The Sonnites say that he was drowned in the Tigris in 879 A. D. Some Shiáhs maintain, he died in 941, in his seventy-fifth year; other Shiáhs pretend that he is still living in the grot where he was concealed; and all agree in the belief that he will reappear in the world, immediately before the second coming of the Messiah, for uniting all the Muselman sects into one, and all the different religions in Muhammedism. Several impostors assumed the name of *Mahdi*, but in vain; nevertheless, two great dynasties were founded under that name, viz.: the *Almohads* and *Fatemites*.—(*Herbelot.*)

[2] According to the Shiáhs, Mahdi made two retreats or eclipses, the great and the minor. The minor was that, during which he now and then gave news of himself, and decided all the questions which the Muselmans proposed, by means of certain messengers who carried them to him very secretly, succeeding each other without knowing each other. This

" and the greater absence." The minor absence, which extends to seventy-three years, falls into the time of *Mâtemed Abâsi*,[1] in the year of the Hejira 266 (A. D. 879); the greater absence took place in the time of *Râsi*, the son of *Mukteder Abâsi*.[2] The distinction between these two epochs is that, during the minor absence, there were a registrar and delegates as intermediates between the pious persons of the religion and the Imâms, whilst, during the greater absence, the appointing and establishing was broken off. The first Vakîl, "delegate, " agent," was *Osman*, son of *Said ul Umrul Asadi*, in the holy place (of Medina); after him, by command of the Imâm of the time, his son, *Abu Jâfer*, took charge of the office, which he held about fifty

intercourse lasted until the year of the Hejira 326, A. D. 937, in which year one of these messengers, called *Ali'*, died, after having brought a letter from Mahdi, by which this Imâm announced to him that he (Ali) would die in six days, and forbade him to leave the commission of visiting him to any other person. It is from this time that begins " the great " retreat or absence" of Mahdi: for, after the death of this Ali, no information was received concerning the Mahdi, *if not* by revelation. This statement, found in Herbelot, is confirmed by that above.

[1] Mâtemed Abâs'i, son of Motavakel, was the fifteenth khalif of the Abbasides. He began to reign in the year of the Hejira 256, A. D. 869, and died in 279, A. D. 892.

[2] Râs i, the son of Mukteder, was the twentieth khalif of the Abbasides. His reign began in the year of the Hejira 322, A. D. 933, and ended in 329, A. D. 940. The period included between the beginning of the reign of Mâtemed and the end of that of Râsi, is seventy-one years, differing by two from the period above stated; the minor absence might have begun two years before Mâtemed's reign.

years; after him came *Abu 'l Kásem Hossain Ebn Rúh Ebn Alí Baher Nóubakhtí*, who bequeathed his place to *Abu'l-Hasan Alî Ebn Muhammed Samíri*, and this was the last Vakíl. When he was sick, the Shíâhs asked him: "Who shall after thee be the Vakíl of the holy "place?" He wrote his command by a last will, by which he abolished the charge, and the command is as follows:

In the name of the bountiful and merciful God:

O Ali, son of Muhammed Samiri, may God increase the recompense of thy brothers with regard to thee, for thou art dead, and between thee and me there are six days;[1] therefore arrange thy affairs, and propose to nobody to fill thy place after thy death; certainly the complete absence is now accomplished, and no further manifestation shall take place but after the permission of God, the most high. He mentioned it, and this after a long delay, and the obduracy of hearts, and after the filling of the earth with violence. And there shall come from among my people one to be a witness; but he who desires it before the coming forth of a Safiani and the Sihat, he is a deceiver, and ought to be avoided. There is no power and no strength but one God, the most high and most great.

Abul-Hasan died in the middle of Shâbán (the eighth month of the year), in the year of the Hejira 328 (A. D. 939).

It is to be known, that the tradition among the Shiâhs of the *Imámiyat-âsulín* sect is divided into

[1] See the preceding note 2, pp. 383. 384.

four parts: *sáhíh*, "authentic;" *hasen*, "elegant;" *músik*, "strong;" and *sâíf*, "weak."

An *hadis sahih*, "an authentic tradition," is one, the authority of which goes back to *mâsúm*,[1] according to the narration of an *âdil Imám*, "a just Imám," in the description of whom the *árbáb-i-hadis*, "the "masters of history," have used the word *âdil*, whether the narrator be one person, or whether there be more than one, provided in the description of them all the same language has been used.

An *hadis hasen*, "an elegant tradition," is one, the authority of which goes back, like that of the *hadis sahih*, to the *mâsúm*; but, according to the narrative of a venerable Imám, in this way, that although, in regard to the narrator of it, the words *sikah âdil*, "trusty and just," have not come down to us from the historians, yet they have praised him in other words.

An *hadis músik*, "a strong tradition," is that, in the description of whose narrators the words *sikah âdil* have been used by the historians, but some

[1] معصوم means "defended, preserved (by God); innocent, an infant;" it is the particular name given by the Imamiahs to the twelfth Imám, Muhammed, the Askerite, who, as was related in the foregoing note 1, p. 383, was in his infancy concealed in a grot, from which he never came forth again, and is still expected. It is an ideal Imám, believed by more than one sect, and the name of *Más'um* was applied to more than one individual, as will be seen hereafter.

or all of the narrators of which are not *Imámís*, "fol-
"lowers of Ali."

An *hadis sâif*, "a weak tradition," is that in which none of these three conditions are found; viz.: 1st, the inference from the commendation of *sikah âdil*; 2nd, a praise other than these two words; and 3rd, the qualification *sikah âdil*, with erroneous belief on the part of the narrator.

A tradition is either *in regular succession*, or *not in regular succession*. A tradition is in regular succession, when a great multitude on the authority of a great multitude make the same narration, until it reaches to the *mâsúm*, in such a manner, that the number of each multitude, in each particular age, shall have been so great as to exclude the idea of their having combined in telling a lie. A tradition is without a regular succession, when the number of narrators does not, in all or several stages, reach to that multitude, as before said, and this kind of tradition is called, in the peculiar idiom of the masters of history, *the information of one*. Among the Akhbarians, there is no such arrangement and classification of evidence, and God knows the truth.

The author of this book writes what he has learned of the religion of the *Akhbárins* from the Amíns of this doctrine, one of whom was Muhammed Razái Kazvíní. They call themselves *Akhbárín*, "dogmatic

"Traditionists," because they place the centre of their belief in the prophetic book,[1] and employ no reasoning. *Mulla Muhammed Amin*, after having acquired the requisite theoretical and practical knowledge and that of the law, went to Mecca and to the revered places, and he declared openly, that controversial dialectics belong not to the rule of the ancient Shiâhs. The author of this book writes what he has heard from pious persons, the confidents of secrets of this sect; whoever desires to know more of it, may have recourse to the book *Favâid Almadiniy*, which is the composition of the last mentioned writer.

The following passage is said to be found in the sacred writings:

"God take compassion on the man of whom I know whence he comes, where he is, and whither he goes."

My desire is God himself, and as an indication of it is my perception of him, the scope of which is the return to him. Afterwards we ought to have the knowledge of three perceptions. The *Imânah* conform themselves to the religion of the community which is composed of the people of the temple; but it is required that we acquire in Medina the knowledge of what the prophet is, and that we enter through the doors (chapters) of sciences, in which

[1] The author uses here and elsewhere the word *khabr*, which answers to our *gospel*.

twelve Imáms are to be praised; whatever further is behind this religion will belong to that of the heretics. Of the two other religions, the one is that of the *people of pious austerity*; and this again is divided into two sects: the one comprehends the ancient *Ashrákián*, who did not follow the prophet; and the second consists of the *Matákherín*, "the moderns," who, known under the name of "Sufis," believe the prophet, and in theory and practice conform themselves to him and to the Imáms. They say, the prophet showed the way of righteousness and revealed the hidden; and the Imáms also taught purity, which from them was conveyed to us; the Imáms, by their pious austerity, promoted the purity of manners, and practised abstinence from food and sleep; the lord of the prophetic protection committed this religion to Alí; and Alí was the delegate of this pious austerity, the chief master, the Amir of the true believers; *Hassan Bas'ri*[1] was one of

[1] Hassan al Bas'ri was the son of an affranchised man, called Mulla Zaid ben Tabeth, and of a slave woman, belonging to Omm Salmath, one of Muhammed the prophet's wives. Hassan acquired the reputation of the first scholastic theologian among the Muselmans. He is surnamed al Bas'ri, because his father was a slave in Maissan, a borough of the dependencies of Bas'ra, or Bassora, and because he kept his school in that town, where different sectaries often came to dispute with him. Wassel Eben Ata, his disciple, deviating from his opinions, became the chief of the Mâtazalahs (see note 1, p. 325). Hassan al Bas'ri had seen the khalif Osman, and Eben Abbas; on that account he quotes in his works what he had learned from them. He died in the year of the Hejira 110, A. D. 728, and left a work entitled *Hadis sherif*, containing a collection

the devoted followers of the Amír, and *Báyazîd* was the disciple of the Imám *Jâfr sadek;*[1] *Mârúf Kœrkhí*, "the celebrated of Karkh,"[2] gave the hand of devotedness to the Imám *Reza.*[3] Similar to them is the sect *shigref*, "the venerable," who think themselves the vice-regents of the Imáms, and lieutenants of the prophet (the peace of God be upon him):[1] their sayings deserve no attention, as in our religion there never was a lieutenant, whatever from a spirit of vanity they may assume. These men are professedly monks, and these are numbered among heretics.

The second sect is that of the *Istidlal*, "the ar-"guers," and of old[4] they were called *Mashâyín*,

of the traditions which he knew relatively to each of the fifty-four *feridhat*, or "obligatory precepts," of the Muselman law.

[1] The sixth Imám, of whom hereafter more will be said.

[2] *Karkh* is the name of a part of the town of Baghdad upon the western side of the Tigris, where the khalif Mansúr built the town and his palace; this is the ancient Baghdad; the actual town of Baghdad, upon the eastern side of the river, has been built later. Karkh is chiefly inhabited by Shiáhs, who had frequent quarrels with the Sonnites, dwelling in the other part of the town. One of the most serious tumults between the two parties took place under the khalif Mostasem. Karkh is the actual suburb of Baghdad, in which the tombs of Zobeidah, wife of Harun Rashid, and of the pious Súfi Marúf Karkhi, above mentioned, are to be seen. The latter died in the year of the Hejira 200. A. D. 815.—(See *Voyage en Arabie, par Niebuhr*, t. II. pp. 245-246, and *Chrestomathie arabe de Silvestre de Sacy*, t. I. pp. 66-70).

[3] The eighth Imám, son of Mussa.

[4] The Arabs divide in general the history of philosophy into two great periods: the first comprises the *ancient philosophers*, who are subdi-

" the walkers, peripatetics;" they did not follow the prophet, and the moderns call them *Matkalemín*, " scholastics." These sectaries are said to mix the principles of the true faith with the belief of the peripatetics, and are also reckoned heretics:[1] because the true religion is that which the lord professed, and this is the religion of the Akhbárins.

Mulla Muhammed Amîn[2] addressed a crowd of *mujtahids*,[3] " casuists," who make a profession of ratiocination (discussion), in the following terms:

vided into those anterior, and those posterior, to Aristotle; the second period is that of the *Muselman philosophers*, who form two classes, those before, and those after, Ebn Sina.

[1] This appears partly to contradict the view which a recent judicious author, Doctor Schmolders (see his *Essai sur les Écoles philosophiques des Arabes*, pp. 105. 106. 133. 139, Paris, 1842), takes of this sect. According to him, the Motkalemins professed the creation from nothing; they disputed about the reality or non-reality of general notions; they endeavoured to adapt philosophy to the dogmas of the Koran; in short, they were the philosophic theologians of the orthodox sects, or dogmatic philosophers.

[2] See above, p. 381.

[3] مجتهد *mujtahid*, is a doctor who exerts all the faculties of his mind to find the truth in contested and undecided matters; he is supposed to possess the science of the Koran, and the traditions with their different meanings, readings, and interpretations, and to be besides skilled in the disquisition in which truth is sought by analogy and comparison. (*Silvestre de Sacy, Chrestomathie arabe*, pp. 169. 170. 171). This term is also used " of one who strives and contends, even to battle, in the cause " of God;" and expresses further the highest dignity in the Muhammedan faith, equivalent to Bishop, or Archbishop with us.—(See *the Life of Shaikh Muhammed Alí Hazín, translated by F. C. Belfour, M.A. Oxon, F.R.A.S., LL.D.*, p. 36.)

— "You agree and acknowledge, that the ancient believers and the religion of old knew of no contentious arguing; and that the ancient way and the old religion which prevailed in the time of Muhammed and of the Imáms (the peace of God be upon them!) is the way of the Akhbarîns. Further, we have likewise a satisfactory proof, that our way is the constant religion; but try to combine a demonstration in the way of reasoning, and show to us by whose direction from among the possessors of holiness you adopted your creed, whilst after Muhammed (the peace of God be upon him!) no other prophet is to appear and to bring another religion? In like manner it has not been stated, in the book of the prophet and in the sacred sayings of the Apostles and of the Imáms, that the relators should, in practice act at discretion, and after the disappearing of the Imám, make a profession of ratiocination. Moreover, it is positively understood that you have mixed your principles with the principles of the Sonnites and Jamáat, and your creed has taken the nature of oxymel, which is neither honey nor vinegar; and you are neither Sonnites nor Shiâhs; and this is the manner in which the moderns exercise reasoning as a profession, that, in the time of religious zeal, they went and helped themselves to the acquisition of knowledge from the books of the adversaries (schismatics), and a similar desire has taken hold of your

hearts. Afterwards they threw out of their books what appeared reprovable, but nevertheless mixed something of it with their own faith."

"It should be known that some things proceed from the exigencies of the faith: thus the dissentient as well as the consentient use the same prayers, and even the unbelievers admit, that in these Muhammed is necessarily honoured. Several things are among the exigencies of the faith, as for instance the office of an Imám, as the dissentient and consentient know that, in point of faith, acknowledging the Imáms is indispensable for strength, firmness, and unimpairable stability. It should be known that, whatever is established from the verses of the Koran renders the conforming of the action to it indispensable; but what is expressed in an allegorical or ambiguous sense, we have not the capacity of understanding; it is then evident that this is particular to the prophet and to the Imáms, and we should not meddle with it; further, we ought to conform our actions to the tradition of the prophet and of the Imáms. As many traditions are opposed to each other, and the distinction therein is arduous; on that account, if two traditions present themselves to our view, such as to be contrary to each other, then the Imám affords the believers a firm rule, which proves to the understanding a protection from error. The truth is, that when two traditions

happen to contradict each other, *good Theologians* refer them to the incontrovertible authority of the Koran; the tradition which is conformable to a verse of the Koran, is that to which they refer the action, and ascribe to religious zeal[1] the other tradition, and if this does not coincide with the incontrovertible authority, as it exceeds your power to decide the dubious question; fix then your eyes upon the creed of the opposers, and observe by what rule they are actuated.[2] Whatever is contrary to them, this tradition they should reckon to be truth; and whatever agrees with the opposers, they should acknowledge as belonging to religious zeal; and if both these traditions in the creed of the opposers were laudable, they should consider, that a thing which according to them deserves pre-eminence, is the contrary of that which they ought to take. And if one says: "You have many opposers, and there "are seventy-and-two sects whose opinions are "conflicting with each other;" *I answer:* "The Imám declared that they ought to proceed upon a road contrary to that upon which the victorious, the rulers, and the learned among the opposers, walk; and if, nevertheless, it may appear to all

[1] تقية *taki'yat*, in the dictionary, "fear, caution, piety." I thought it more correctly translated, here and elsewhere, by "religious zeal."

[2] The obscurity which the reader may find in this paragraph proceeds from the strangeness of the doctrine itself, and can be cleared up only by bestowing upon it more attentive study than it perhaps deserves.

that they find themselves upon the same road; there are then two laws: according to whichever of the traditions they act, it does not matter in that tradition in which way it comes from the *mâsúm*,[1] provided, without doubt, it comes from the Imám; and the Imám is a person to whom obedience is obligatory. Moreover, by whichever authority they act, they must conform their action to the direction of the Imám. Another thing is to be said: "Have patience until the time of the "happy meeting with the Imâm." If any body says: "We have no option to act or not to act; "how long shall we wait? the coming of the Imám "is not determined?" This is the reply: Having already acted, why should it be said: "Have pa- "tience?" This has reference to *the precept*: "If "thou art in business, act peaceably; and if de- "voted to religion, follow the rites of the most com- "prehensive religion." Should any one say: "To "conform my actions to this rule is also subject to "discussion," we answer to that: "This is the rule the Imám has established; if there be discussion, it is therefore the Imám's, not our's." To weigh a religious doctrine is the same as to compare two traditions contrary to each other: we found, for instance, that "as to purity of wine, there are

[1] Upon *mâsum*, see note, p. 386.

" are two colors."[1] The wine is in the traditions; we then made reference to the incontrovertible authority of the Koran; we found no verse decisive about it; and in the allegories we saw, that wine is called uncleanness, and how many meanings are attached to uncleanness; and as we had the power of understanding the truth, the ambiguity disappeared. We made reference to the creed of the opposers *to the right faith:* they acknowledge wine to be impure. Then we took the contrary of it, and reckoned the wine to be pure, as the traditions announce the purity of wine. Further, the tradition which denotes the impurity of wine, we ascribed to religious caution. And it is to be known that the Mujtahíd ought to conform his actions to his opinion; but opinion is *shabhah*, " doubt," and is so called (very like *shabah*, " an image"), because it is vain, and " truth-like."

[1] It is meant probably " two points of view," and the passage above relates to the 219th verse of the IInd chapter of the Koran, which is as follows: " They will ask thee concerning wine, and lots; answer: In " both there is great sin, and also some things of use unto men; but " their sinfulness is greater than their use." And again, the 67th verse of the XVIth sura: " And of the fruits of palm-trees and grapes ye " obtain inebriating drink, and also good nourishment." Yet the verses 92 and 93 of the Vth sura are decidedly against wine, viz.: " O true " believers, surely wine, and lots, and images, and divining arrows, are " an abomination of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them, that you " may prosper." — 93. " Satan seeketh to sow discussion and hatred " among you, by means of wine and lots, and to divert you from remem-

The religion of the Akhbarín consists in the conviction that, without an exception, whatever they have heard from the Imám is to them *dalîl-i-katáí*, "a final, decisive proof" (cutting off all further questions); moreover the practice followed by the Akhbarins, is the *terík-i-katáí* "the final religion;" and *katáí*, "final," is that which does not depend upon *mere* opinion. The modern among the Shiâh said, that it becomes the Mujtahed to conform his actions to his opinions, and that it is incumbent upon others to submit to his doctrine: this religion is not ancient; as to the rest, the practice of contentious arguing and restlessness is an error.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ISMAILIAH.

Information was received from Mír Amír, who was a governor of the Naváhi, "district" of the town Shekúnah, that the Ismâíliah, are a tribe among the Shiâhs; and their creed is ascribed to the lord Imám Ismâíl, the son of the lord Imám Jâfr sádik,[1] and this sect believe this lord an Imam; they

"bering God, and from prayer; will ye not, therefore, abstain from "them?"—(*Sale's translation.*)

[1] *Jâfer*, surnamed *Sadik*, "the Just," was the eldest son of Muhammed Baker, the fifth Imám. Jâfer was born in Medina, in the year of the

say, that Imám Jâfr consigned the office of an Imám to him; and that he never admitted to a partnership with the mother of this lord any other woman or girl, in the manner that had been done by the prophet with regard to Khadíjah, and by Alí with respect to Fátmah.[1] About the departure of Ismâíl from this perishable world, there are different accounts. Some say that he died during the lifetime of Jâfr; then the prerogative of appointing to the Imámate was transferred from the Imám Jâfr to the offspring of Ismâíl; in like manner as Músí (Moses) transferred the appointment to Hárún (Aaron), who died during the lifetime of Músí. The appointment does not return by retrocession; and a convention *reversed* from whence it came is impossible. Jáfr was not likely to appoint, without traditional cre-

Hejira 83, A. D. 702; he is acknowledged the sixth Imám, and of great authority in religious matters among the Muselmans. He died in his native town, under the khalifate of Abú Jâfer Almansor, the second khalif of the Abbasides, in the year of the Hejira 148, A. D. 764, in his sixty-second year.

The two eldest of his seven sons were Ismâil and Mussa. Ismâil, the elder of the two, having died during his father's life, the latter appointed Mussa his successor, which gave rise to the contest above mentioned, and to several sects, as well as to two great dynasties. The Fatimite khalifs in Egypt are considered as descendants of the branch of Ismâil, called Ismâilahs, of Africa, but the Suffavean monarchs of Asia claim to derive their origin from Mussa, and strenuously support his title to the seventh Imám.

[1] Muhammed had, during twenty years of wedlock with Khádija, never another wife; nor gave Alí a partner to his spouse Fatimá, the prophet's daughter, during her life.

dentials from noble ancestors, one from among his distinguished descendants, and to be uncertain and unknown is not suitable to an Imám. As to the appointment of the Imám Jáfr, its legality is in accordance with the twelve Imáms. Some say, that Ismâíl had not departed from life, but the news of his death was spread about, from fear that his enemies should attempt his life, and a declaration of his death was written. It is reported, according to some, that during the khalifat of Manzur, Ismâil was seen in Basra, where a person afflicted with a malady of the foot was cured by means of his prayers. Mansur asked information from the Imám, who sent to the khalif a certificate (of Ismâil's death), in which was included a letter of the âamil (collector of revenue) of Mansur.

They say that, after Ismâil followed Muhammed, the son of Ismâil, with whom closed the series of the Shiâh Imáms,[1] and after him the Imáms disappeared; but no age remains destitute of conspicuous Imáms, and when an Imám has appeared, he certainly evinces himself as such.

[1] All those who believe that the Imamate passed legitimately from Jâfer to his son Ismâil, and to Ismâil's posterity, are called *Ismâilahs:* but their opinions are not uniform. Some maintain that to Muhammed, above-mentioned, surnamed *Mectu'm*, "the concealed," succeeded his son, Jâfer Mosuddek, whose successor was Muhammed Habib. This last is expected to return in order to found a new dynasty. The Ismâilahs carry to excess the prerogatives which they attribute to their Imâms.—(*Makrisi in Chrest. arabe*, vol. II. p. 92.)

The number of the commands of the Imáms is seven, like the seven days of the week, the seven heavens, and the seven planets.[1] They hold the number of the religious leaders to be twelve, and therein the Imámíyas have committed an error, by counting the Imáms after the leaders, and these are the *Baténian*, "interior."[2] These sectaries do not

[1] The number *seven* acts a great part in the system of the Ismâilahs. All things, after having attained the septenary number, are at their end, must undergo a change, and be succeeded by other things. To the septenaries above mentioned, I shall add seven palms, of which the height of a man is said to consist, seven climates, and seven seas, according to the Koran (Sura XXXI. v. 26): "If all the trees on the earth were pens, "and God should after that swell the sea into seven seas of ink, the "words of God would not be exhausted." We know how generally in the world such a belief with respect to seven existed and still exists.

[2] "The Batenian, 'interior,' says Silvestre de Sacy, "are so called, "because they establish an interior sense of the Scripture besides the "exterior; they say, whoever attaches himself to the exterior, fatigues "himself with vain practices, whilst he, who follows the interior, may "dispense with all actions; they give to faith a preference over Islamism, "undoubtedly," founded upon the authority of the Koran, where it "is to be found" (Sura XLIX. v. 14): "The Arabs of the desert say: "'We believe;' answer: 'Ye do by no means believe; but say: 'We "'have embraced Islam;' for the faith hath not yet entered into your "'hearts.'"

The Ismâilahs are often confounded with the Batenian. The first who maintained this doctrine of mystic interpretation was Marzaban, ben Abdullah, ben Maimun al Kadah. He was the servant of Imám Jâfer Sadik, and also served Jâfer's son Ismâil, after whose death he attended Muhammed, the son of the latter. When Jâfer was poisoned, Abdullah carried off Jafer's grandson, from Medina to Misr (Egypt). When Muhammed died, he left a concubine pregnant, and Abdullah, having put her to death, substituted a woman of his own in her room. This woman

conform themselves to the evidence of the divine law; they declare: "we do not say, God is omnipresent or not omnipresent, omniscient, or not omniscient, almighty, or not almighty, and so in all attributes; they maintain further as a confirmation of the truth, that there is a connexion between God and the *other* beings, and this is the creed of the *Tashbîah*, "assimilators;" but from an absolute negation a connexion takes place with non-existences, which is maintained by the *Tâtîl*, "indif- "ferent," and the application of this thesis to the Lord, the self-existent, leads to the opinion, that there is no community to be imagined between the Lord God, self-existent, *and other beings*. They also say that the Almighty God is the operator of opposite effects, and the creator and ruler of conflicting results. They further set forth, that when the lord Yzed, the most sublime, bestowed the gift of know-

brought forth a son, whom Abdullah asserted to be Muhammed's son; and when this son had grown up, he succeeded in making him acknowledged as the Imâm by many. Some of this person's descendants attained the rank of sovereigns, and the doctrine of the Batenian spread afar. The first of these who sat on the throne of the khalifat was Sâid, under the name of Abu-Muhammed Obaid-alla, the founder of the Fatimite khalifs, in Africa, in the year of the Hejira 296, A. D. 908. He took the title of *Al Mahdi*, "the Director."—(See, upon this sect, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. II. p. 424.)

The Fatimites claim their descent, from *Alí*, the fourth legitimate khalif, and from *Fatima*, the daughter of the prophet; but their adversaries give an account of their origin similar to that just stated: the opinions of historians are divided about this fact.

ledge upon the inhabitants of the world, they called him all-knowing; when he displayed his power on account of his majesty, they called him all-mighty: certainly the attribution of knowledge and power to the being of the most sublime Yzed is founded upon the belief that he is the giver of knowledge and force. Moreover they assert that, by a single command, God created intelligence, which among all things is perfect, and by means of perfect intelligence, he brought forth the spirit which is not perfect; there is a relation between intelligence and spirit, a relation between the sperm and the child produced, as well as a relation between the egg and the bird, or a relation between father and son, or husband and wife. The spirit becomes then desirous of, and longing for the excellence of perfect intelligence[1] which he derives from expansion, therefore he feels himself pressed to move out of his deficiencies towards excellence,[2] but he does not attain at perfect motion, except by means of an instrument.

Afterwards, God created the heavenly bodies, and gave the heavens a circular motion; from his disposition emerged the spirit, the simple elementary na-

[1] The manuscript of Oude reads here *dkl* instead of *fêz*, which the edition of Calcutta repeats twice: I adopted the first.

[2] This part of the doctrine reminds us of the sentiments expressed in Plato's Symposion, by Agathon, one of the interlocutors in this admirable dialogue upon love and the beautiful.

tures, and by means of them the uncompounded beings; further, he brought forth the compounded bodies from among minerals, vegetables, and various animals, among which man was the best, on account of the merit of much sanctity, and his connexion with the celestial world. Thus the upper world is composed of perfect universal intelligence, and the rational sense of universality which is the origin of creatures. It is necessary that in the nether world perfect universal intelligence and reason prevail, that they may afford to the inhabitants of the world the means of salvation, and this intelligence is the prophet *nátik*, "speaking," and the reason is the Imám. As the heavens are moved by the impulse of intelligence and reason, in like manner are the other souls set free by the impulse of the "speaker;" there is one who commands in every age, and every time has its revolution; every revolution depends upon the authority of seven persons[1] until it termi-

[1] According to the Ismàilahs, each speaker or legislator is associated with a vicar, whom they call *s'amet*, "silent," because he has nothing new to teach; and of these vicars he who assisted the legislator, and succeeded immediately to him, receives the name of *asa's*, "fundamental," or *su's*, "root, source." The seven *natt'ks*, or "legislators of the revolution, "past," and their vicars, are as follow: I. Adam and Seth; II. Noah and Sem; III. Abraham and Ismâil; IV. Moses and Aarún, replaced afterwards by Joshua; V. Jesus and Simon Kefas; VI. Muhammed and Ali; VII. Muhammed, son of Jsmâil, who is designated by the title قـايـم الـزمـان *Kai'm al zema'n*, or صاحب الزمان *s'a'heb al zeman*, "the

nates by the last revolution and the time of judgment comes; the exigencies of the law and religious rule rise as the rapid movements of heaven, and the necessity of law is the cause of the acquisition of reason *carried* to excellence; it is a *laudable* trial of mankind to attain to the dignity of wisdom, and this is " the great judgment."

When they wish to convert any body to their creed, they throw doubts upon his religion into his mind, not with any evil intention on their side, but that he may find the road to God and attain truth, as well as be convinced that, except their religion, any other is remote from certainty and without firmness. Their manner of creating doubts about the pillars of the law, is that they ask about detached parts of a sura: what (for instance) is the meaning of the detached letters in the first sura,[1] and the command

" chief, the lord of the age;" in him all the doctrines of the ancients are terminated.—(See *Journal asiatique*, 1824, t. IV. p. 298 *et seq.; Recherches sur l'initiation à la secte des Ismaéliens. Par Silvestre de Sacy*).

[1] " There are twenty-nine chapters of the Koran, which have this " peculiarity, that they begin with certain letters of the alphabet, some " with a single one, others with more. These letters the Muhammedans " believe to be the peculiar marks of the Koran, and to conceal several " profound mysteries; the certain understanding of which the more " intelligent confess, has not been communicated to any mortal, their " prophet only excepted. Notwithstanding which, some will take the " liberty of guessing at their meaning, by that species of *cabala* called " by the Jews *Notarikon*, and suppose the letters to stand for as many " words, expressing the names and attributes of God, his works, ordi-

about fasting, a menstruous woman, the command of prayers, and why the necessity of bathing with regard to sperm and urine; the number of the sacred inclinations of the head, which, according to some, are four, according to others, three, and perhaps two: which number is right? and so on in all actions of the pious.[1] When the person desirous of truth, finds himself by such questions surrounded with doubts, and inquires after truth, they answer, and conduct him upon the road of the right belief, in such a manner that all doubt is banished from his heart; he then is received in their community, and

" nances, and decrees: and therefore these mysterious letters, as well as " the verses themselves, seem in the Koran to be called *signs*. Others " explain the intent of these letters from their nature or organ, or else " from their value in numbers, according to another species of the Jew- " ish *cabbala*, called *gematria*; the uncertainty of which conjectures " sufficiently appears from their disagreement."—(*Sale's Koran*, Preliminary Discourse, pp. 78-79.)

[1] The questions asked for perplexing the neophyte are of various natures; for instance, What signifies the throwing of stones by the pilgrims at Mecca, whilst running between the hills of Merva and Safa?—Why did God create the world in six days, when one moment might have sufficed for it?—What mean the eight angels, bearers of God's throne?—What the seven gates of hell, and the eight gates of paradise?—Further, what is the difference between the life of a vegetable and that of a man?—Why has a man ten toes, ten fingers, and why in each three joints, but only two in the thumb?—Why has a man at the head seven orifices (eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth), and only two for the rest of his body? Why twelve dorsal, and only seven vertical vertebras? etc., etc.—(See *Journal asiatique*, 1824, tome IV. p. 309; and *Gemäldesaal moslimisher, Heersher. IIIter Band.* 1837, *Seite* 237.)

walks in the right way, whence he is strengthened against any creation of doubts, and this is the manner of agreement current among the followers of God, by way of compact and convention.

"When we took engagements with the prophets."

Further, according to convention, comes *havâlet*, "giving in charge" to the Imám, and settling arduous matters, when a difficulty occurs in an affair which presents itself to him; inasmuch as, by the laudable nature of his qualities, an Imám is wise, and nobody else possesses the power with which this exalted personage is firmly invested. To this is joined *tedlís*, "artifice," which consists in managing relations with powerful personages, in religious and worldly matters, in order to increase the proselyte's inclination for what he seeks and wishes. Then is *tásís*, "making sure, or confirming the arrangements which are agreeable to him, so that he may be confident, and put in possession of what he expects. Further, there is *khalâ*, "divesting," which is obscure. Afterwards by renouncing the actions of this world: this is *silkh*, "estrangement from the "observances of exterior religion." Finally, at this period, whoever may find it agreeable to indulge in, and to excite himself to, pleasurable practices, and to interpret the law, which is the office of exalted personages, *he may do so*, as whatever in the

world is not hurtful, is proper to the favourites of God, as for instance wine, which, to enjoy with moderation and without abuse and noise, is salutary.[1]

[1] See upon this subject, the *Journal Asiatique*, tome VI. 1825. pp. 334-335.

The above account of the proceeding by which the Ismâilahs made proselytes to their creed exhibits one of the most insidious systems that has ever been invented to ensnare men. Silvestre de Sacy, in the Memoir quoted, note, 2, p. 405, enumerates nine degrees of initiation by which a neophyte, under the direction of a *Dâi'*, or "teacher," was to pass, to be made a perfect Ismâilah. The first degree is to perplex the disciple by difficult questions; the second degree is to fix that the Imâms only have received the divine mission to instruct Muselmans; the third, establishes the series of seven Imâms, beginning at Ali and terminating at Ismâil, son of Jâfer; the fourth makes known the seven periods of prophets (as shown in note 1, p. 407); the fifth, conducts to contempt of the traditions and of the literal sense of the Koran, and is connected with some principles of philosophy and mathematics, or rather with fantastic notions on the power of particular numbers, such as seven, twelve, etc., applied to some phenomena of nature; the sixth degree imposes an entire submission to the Imâm, and reveals that all legal and religious ordinances are nothing else but political contrivances, for keeping the vulgar in necessary dependence and subordination. At this degree the initiation stops for the greatest number of the candidates, and even of the Dâis. The seventh degree shows two principles in the organization of the universe: the one gives, the other receives; the one male, the other female: thus is duality substituted for the unity of the Divine nature; the eighth degree is consecrated to the development of the above mentioned notions; two beings are supposed to exist: the one *sabik*, "the antecedent;" the other, *larik*, "the subsequent." Some of the Ismâilahs, however, admit a being not to be defined, without name and attributes, above the "antecedent." To this degree is subjoined the dogma of a possible ascension, from the undermost stage of hierarchy to the highest being, by an endless series of periods and revolutions; a new religion is established upon the ruins of the former; the resurrection, the end of the world, the

They say likewise *vazu*, "ablution," is as much as acknowledging the faith of the Imám, and abstersion with sand (from want of water) the same in the absence of the Imám, as he is the umpire. *Namaz*, "prayer," is a precept of the prophet, according to the word of God the Almighty.

"Prayer preserveth from filthy crimes, and from what is blameable."[1]

Jhtilám,[2] "nocturnal pollution," refers to the divulging of a secret to a person not one of those who ought to know it, without the intention of guiding him into the right road. *Ghasel*, "bathing," is a renewal of the covenant. *Zakat*, "alms," is the sanctifying of life by means of the understanding of mankind. *Súm*, "fasting," denotes the preservation of the mysteries of the Imám. *Zena*, "sexual intercourse with a strange woman," is equivalent to divulging the mysteries of religion. These sectaries say also that praying in an assembly

last judgment, the rewards and punishments, are only emblematic expressions of the successive periodical revolutions of the stars and of the universe, of the destruction and renovation of all beings, produced by the disposition and combination of the elements. Arrived at the ninth degree, the proselyte knows of no religion, nor submission to any other authority but his own, and is left to himself for choosing among the systems of philosophy the one he likes best.

[1] Koran, chap. XXIX. v. 44.

[2] This word is also interpreted, in the Dictionary, by "dreaming," "reaching the age of puberty." The meaning of the above passage is obscure.

is following the holy Imám. The alms are to them a metaphoric signification of the fifth part of property which they give to the Imám.[1] Further there is the *Kábah*[2] of the prophet, the *bâb*, "door," of Alí, the *safá* of the apostle, the *marvah* of the *vasí*, "executor," the *míkát itinás*, "the place of "familiarity" (where the pilgrims assemble and whence they proceed to perform the solemnities at the temple of Mecca), and the *talbiyat*, "pilgrimage "of obedience" to the blessed; the *seven circuits*, around the house of lordship which the Shiâhs devote to the Imâms (the peace of God be upon them!)[3]

[1] The Muselmans are enjoined to give the tenth part of their property to the poor. In general, to understand the religion of the Ismâilahs, above exhibited, it is required to be acquainted with that of the Muselmans, which they have modified according to their own particular views.

[2] The Kâbah of Mecca has been several times mentioned. The building of this temple is traced back by the devotees to Adam and his son Seth; after its destruction by the universal deluge, it was constructed by Abraham and his son Ismâil. We may believe that a sacred building existed at Mecca long before Muhammed, during the prevalence of the Sabean religion: it is held to have been the temple of Saturn. After Muhammed it was renewed by Ebn Zobair, and finally made such as it is by Hejaz, in the year of the Hejira 74, A. D. 693. — (See Pococke, p. 115.)

[3] The pilgrims, who crowd to Mecca from the most distant countries, think to sanctify themselves by the performance of a series of rites and ceremonies, such as their prophet himself, at his last visit to this place, fixed by his example; viz.: he purified himself by bathing; he then went to the eastern gate of the temple; there he kissed the black stone, upon which Abraham, so the Muhammedans believe, conversed with Agar, to

Heaven is repose of bodies from all distresses. Hell is the torment of bodies by distresses.

And in this manner they interpret every thing, and say that every thing exterior has its interior, which is the cause of the exterior, whilst this latter is the manifestation of the interior; and there is nothing exterior which has not its interior; and if not, there is, in reality, nothing; further, there is nothing interior which has not its exterior, unless it be an illusion. When God created the exterior (visible), and the interior (invisible) world, the latter was the world of spirits, souls, and intelligences; the visible world was that of bodies, upper and nether, and of accidents. The Imám is the lord of the interior world, and there is no knowledge of God to be acquired, except by his instruction. The prophet is the lord of the exterior world, and the law, of which men stand in need, will not be perfect

which he tied his camels, and upon which the traces of his feet are still seen; further, the prophet made the seven circuits of the Kâbah, running round it three times, and four times marching with a grave and measured pace. He afterwards proceeded to the two stones, *Sa'fa'* and *Marvah;* the first at the foot of mount Abi Kobaisi, the second at that of Koaikaban, distant 780 cubits from each other. These stones are supposed to have been once two idols, Asaph and Nayelah; or two persons, a man and a woman, who, for having committed stupration in the temple, were changed into stones. At each of them he recited with a loud voice the (since formulary) praise of God. Finally, having proclaimed his last revelation, by which he declared his religion to be perfected, he sacrificed sixty-three camels, one for each year of his then closing age: he returned to Medina, and soon after died.

except by him; and the law has an exterior side, which is called *tanzil*,[1] "revelation from heaven, "the Koran," and an interior, which is entitled *táwîl*,[2] "interpretation." The age is never destitute of a prophet, or of law; it is likewise never without an Imám, or his authority. These sectaries further say, that his government is sometimes concealed, although the Imám be manifest, and that at another time the government is manifest, although the Imám be concealed; in such a manner that the people may know a prophet by the wonders of his words and deeds; but they recognize the Imám by his government and direction, and they cannot know God Almighty but by the Imám. The Shiâhs also maintain that the existence of an Imám through all times is necessary, whether manifest or concealed, so that no period of time be destitute of the splendour of the sun, or plunged in the darkness of night.

A book was seen, composed by Hassan Sábáh,[3] who was a deputy of the Imám. In the first chap-

[1] *Tanzi'l* is the literal Muhammedism, or the literal interpretation of what is revealed.

[2] *Ta'wil* is the allegorical sense of the doctrine. We have, upon the meaning of *tanzil* and *ta'wil*, a Dissertation written by Silvestre de Sacy: *Commentatio de notione vocum* Tánzil *et* Táwil, *in libris qui ad Druzorum religionem pertinent*, in the XVIth vol. of *Comment. Soc. Reg. Scient. Götting., class. hist et phil.*, p. 3 and seq.

[3] See a detailed account of him hereafter.

ter of it, he says, that the *mufti*, "wise," in the knowledge of the Lord God ought to follow one of the two sentences: either that which says that he may know God by mere reason, without the aid of instruction by an intelligent *sádik*,[1] "a sincere friend," or that which declares that the knowledge of the Lord God by reason is difficult, and cannot be acquired unless by the instruction of an intelligent sincere friend; and he further states, that whatever decision he may give according to the first sentence, he does not assume to reject the other, because, when he rejects, the rejection amounts to teaching and demonstrating, that the disavowal of the posterity of Alí is required by the other. These sectarians say, that both modes are necessary, and constitute a proof: because the muftí, when he gives a decision by a sentence, this sentence is either his own or that of another; in the same way, when he professes a creed, either he adopts it firmly from his own original persuasion, or this sense is communicated to him by another. This is what the first section *of the book before mentioned* contains. In the contents of this section is a digression upon the lords of reason and of wisdom.

[1] صادق, *sadik* is known to be the epithet of Joseph, Abu bekr, Jesus, and Jáfer, the sixth Imám; it appears to designate the Imàm, the

In the second section of it, we read the statement that, when there is an occasion for a teacher, either every intelligent man, by a free use of his ability, gives instruction, or the learned sádik is indispensable; and the author says, that a person who may agree with whatever instruction an able master imparts, will not think it allowable to carry on controversy with this learned antagonist; and when he permits himself to do so, certainly he may have kept the faith which is absolutely due to the learned *s'aáik* and confidential friend. This section is said to contain a digression upon the lords of the tradition.

In the third section it is stated that, although the necessity of a learned *sádik* be established, yet it is required to take advantage of the knowledge of the first learned man; and after the instruction received from him, that is, instruction from any teacher without a special appointment, it is proper to be assured of his truth; as the right way of religion is not attainable without a companion, certainly the first concern is to have a *true* friend. After this subject, there is a digression upon the Shiâhs.

In the fourth chapter, the author says, that the individuals of mankind are divided into two classes.

Dâi, or the acknowledged spiritual guide among the Ismâilahs; I shall therefore retain the term in the translation.

The one says: "We require for the knowledge of "the Creator a learned *súdik*, or sincere friend; and "his special appointment is required, and after that "instruction from him." The other class says, "Instruction for the knowledge of any science can be "obtained from any person, whether a master or "not a master *specially appointed*." As, by previous investigations, it is understood that the truth is with the first class, certainly the chief and leader of the first class will be the chief of the philosophers; and as it has been ascertained that the second class is erring, their leader is the leader of the deceived. The author says further, the *true* doctrine is, that we acknowledge the *muhikk*, "him who knows for certain *bahakk*, that is, "in truth," which is a summary knowledge; and after the summary knowledge by which we recognise "him who knows for certain," "in truth," we want a detailed (distinct) knowledge of these questions; and our purpose in using the word *bahakk*, "in truth" is to express the necessity of having a *muhikk*, and the author says: By necessity we are to know the Imám, and by the Imám we know God in such a manner that by lawfulness we acknowledge him who is necessary, that is to say, that we acknowledge by the possibility of perfection the existence of the self-existent being.

The author also says, that knowing the *true* doc-

trine is knowing the unity *of God*. After this illustration, having in several sections exhibited an account of his own faith, and in some established it, he made in other sections a digression upon the creed of others, and the digressive sections are frequent; the proofs and disquisitions by controversy with regard to false religions, and the disquisitions by concordance with regard to the rightfulness of his own religion, are distinct from the totality of those arguments, which are between truth and falsehood, and the contrast between truth and falsehood, and that between small and great *is made evident*. The author further alleges, that in science there is truth and falsehood; but the distinguishing mark of truth is unity, and the distinguishing mark of falsehood is multiformity; unity is related to *authoritative* instruction, and multiformity is related to opinion; instruction belongs to the assembly, and the assembly to the Imám; opinion is allied with conflicting sects, and these agree with their chiefs. As for the separation of truth from falsehood, and the resemblance which truth has with falsehood, and for the distinction between what is consistent and what is absurd, on both sides, a balance ought to be formed in which every thing may be weighed.[1] The author moreover says, that

[1] The celebrated Ghazáli composed among a hundred works, thirty-three of which are enumerated by the baron Hammer-Purgstall, two

we obtained the knowledge of this balance from the speeches of the witnesses, and whatever is compounded of negation and affirmation; and whatever is deserving negation is falsehood; and whatever is deserving affirmation is truth; and by this balance we weigh the good and bad, the sincere and the lying, and all contradictions; and the acute distinction and mystery of this speech is, that in the sentences each word relates to truth by proof of evidence, and unity and confirmation. The Imámate unites itself with prophecy in such a degree that prophecy, by the very nature of the Imámate, is prophecy; and this is the scope of the discourse in these topics of inquiry.

Besides, the author forbade the vulgar to dive deeply into science; and he prohibited the nobles the study of the books of the ancients, unless there was a person fit to master the particulars of their contents, and the comparative merits of the men who have delivered speeches. He also determined, with his companions in divinity, to say: *illah illah Muhammed ast,* "God is God the praise-worthy;" so you; but the adversaries say: *illah illah akel ast,* "God is God the wise;" that is, whatever is reason, every reason takes its direction towards the side of this leader (Muhammed); and as some of them raise

with the titles القسطاس *alkistas,* "the balance," and مزان الاعمال *mi'zan oldama'l,* "the balance of actions."

these questions: "God Almighty is he present or "not? one or many? knowing or ignorant? pow- "erful or not?" An answer sufficiently strong is given, namely: *illah ba illah Muhammed*, "God by "God is praiseworthy:"[1] as it is God who sent the prophet for leading the creatures, and the prophet is the leader of the creatures.

These sectaries are to be found in many places, but in great numbers in the *navahi*, "district," of the eastern Kohistan, in the districts of Khita, of Káshghar, and Tibet. The author of this book saw, in the year of the Hejira 1054 (A. D. 1644), in Multan, one belonging to this sect, called Mír Alî Akbar, and heard frequently this account from his mouth: The Khalifs of the Ismâílíah maintained, during a long time, their dignity in the West. The lineage of the first Khalifs, according to the manner which is agreed upon among the Ismâílíah, is stated as follows: Khájah[2] Násir Túsi (of Tús) showed himself

[1] The attribute of God and the name of the prophet are, not without intention, confounded.

[2] *Khájah* signifies "lord, professor, man of distinction" (and also a eunuch). Khájah is the title commonly prefixed to *Nasír-eddín*, "the defender of the faith," which is the surname of Muhammed ben Hassan or Ben Muhammed al Túsi, born in Tús, in the year of the Hejira 597, A. D. 1200. He is acknowledged to have been the doctor who acquired among Muselmans the highest reputation in all sorts of sciences; he was a commentator of Euclid, and of the spherics of Theodosius and Menelaus. He left scientific works, duly admired, and was an astronomer, lawyer, theologian, and statesman. We shall have to touch upon

or really was, in his time, a professor of Ismâílísm. Muhammed al mahtadí ben Abd-ullah, ben Ahmed ben Muhammed, ben Ismâíl, ben Jâfr sádik, united the dignity of the Imámate with his own nobility, and declared that Mahdi, the last of the age, is represented in Muhammed ben Abd-ullah, and he quoted from the writing of Sádik, who said: "*At the end of "thirteen hundred years, the sun shall rise in the west.*" They say that the word *sun* in this sentence alludes to Muhammed, son of Abd-ullah.[1] They give to Abú yazíd, who fell off from the lord (Sadik), the name of Antichrist (dajál).[2]

the part which he took in the great events of his days. He died in the year of the Hejira 672, or, according to some, 687 (A. D. 1273 or 1285)

[1] See our note 2, p. 400-401, relative to Sáid, under the name of Muhammed Obaid-alla, Mahdi. The friends and enemies of the Fatemites concur in the account, that he descended from Maimún, surnamed *Kaddah*, "the oculist," whom some make a descendant of Ali, whilst others say that he was the son of *Daïsan*, "the dualist," so called because he ascribed the good to God and the evil to man, and some attribute to him an origin, not only foreign to the race of the prophet, but even connected with a Magian and Jewish lineage. Obaid-allah made Kairwan or Kurm (the ancient Cyrene) the capital of his dominion, but at the same time he laid the foundation of a new capital, which he called *Mahedia*, from his assumed surname *Mahdi*. Abu Tamim Moadd Moezzledin allah, the fourth in descent from Obaid allah, but the first acknowledged Fatimite khalif removed his seat to Cairo in Egypt: this town became then the rival of Baghdad, which continued to be the residence of the ancient line of khalifs. Moezz died in the year of the Hejira 365 A. D. 975.

[2] Abu Yazid, according to Abulfeda (*Annal. Mosl.*, vol. II. p. 240), was a barbarian of the tribe of Zenata (one of the Berbers), son of Condad and an Ethiopian mother. He feigned sanctity, and belonged to a

A great number of learned men are followers of the Ismâílíah: such was *Amír Nás er Khusró*, from among all learned poets, the contemporary of Ismâíl, surnamed *Montáser*, "the victorious."[1] Amir Naser[2] was born in the year of the Hejira 359 (A. D. 969). When he arrived at the age of discernment and rectitude, he heard the voice of Hassen, *teaching* the morals of the Ismâílíah, in the time of the khalifat of the legitimate Imám Montáser;[3] he hastened from Khorassan to Egypt,

sect inimical to the Muselmans, whom he persecuted with relentless fury. Herbelot says, he was a chancellor of Abúl-Kasem Muhammed Kayem, the second khalif of the Fatimites, who succeeded his father Obaid-alla, in the year of the Hejira 322 (A. D. 933). Abu Yazid rose in rebellion against his master, and brought the empire to the greatest peril; but, after many successes and conquests, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and died of his wounds, in the year of the Hejira 336 (A. D. 947).

[1] Abu Yazid's conqueror was the above mentioned Abu Teher Ismâil, son of Kayem, the third khalif of the Fatimites, who succeeded his father in the year of the Hejira 334 (A. D. 945). His surname was, besides the above stated, *al Mansur ba kuvet allah*, "victorious by the "power of God," to which is often substituted *Mostanser billah*, as in Makrisi (see *Chrestom. arabe*, vol. I. pp. 84–91). He was succeeded by his son, in the year of the Hejira 341 (A. D. 952).

[2] We find in Herbelot's oriental library a notice of Nasser Khosrú, an ancient Persian poet, whose animated and pious verses are often quoted by persons of a contemplative turn of mind. Baron von Hammer (Schöne Redekünste Persiens, S. 43) adduces Nassir Khosru of Ispahan, who, famous as a poet and philosopher, was persecuted on account of doubtful orthodoxy in matters of faith, and who died in the year of the Hejira 431 (A, D. 1039). A sect of Ismâilah is said (*As. Res.*, vol. XI. p. 425) to have been called Nas'ariah, from Nas'ar, a poet and learned man.

[3] The mention made above of Hassan, and further of the Almutiahs,

where he dwelt seven years; every year he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned from thence; he was exceedingly devoted to the practice of the law. At last he went to Mecca, and returning by the way of Bas'ra (Bussora) he was disposed to go to Khorassan. Having fixed himself in Sabakh, he invited mankind to the khalifat of Mantes'er, and to the religion of the Ismâîliah, and showed the way to it. Hence, a number of the enemies of the prophet's descendants wished to destroy Amír Nás'r Khusró. A prey to fear and terror, he concealed himself from mountain to mountain in Badakhshan,[1] and lived twenty years upon water and grass in inaccessible places. Some of the ignorant reckoned him a companion among the Ismâîliah Almutíah; others of the uninformed composed a book of regret on the subject of his alliance with the Almutíah which they supposed: the fact is that he, following the Ismâîlíah of the West, kept no communication nor society with the Almútíah. This is what we have heard from the Ismâîlíah with

points to the reign of Abu Tamim Moàd Mostanser Billah, from the year of the Hejira 427 to 487, A. D. (1035 to 1094). At the beginning of this reign, Amir Nas'er Khusro, if the date of his birth be right, would have been more than sixty-six years old, and twenty years of concealment in Badakhshan extend his age beyond eighty-six years.

[1] Badakhshan is the country situated towards the head of the river Jihon, or Oxus, by which it is limited on its eastern and northern side. Balkh is the capital of Badakhshan.

regard to Nás r, and what is also recorded in historical books. [1]

[1] The author of the Dabistán has given a sufficiently explicit account of the doctrine of the Ismâilahs, but without separating the opinions belonging in particular to each of the sects into which the Ismâilahs in the course of time divided. We have already mentioned the *Batenian*. Another division was that of the *Karmatians*, founded by Hamadan, surnamed *Karmata*, "small and distorted," son of Ashath. He appeared first in the year of the Hejira 278 (A. D. 891), as an adherent of Ahmed, son of Abdallah, son of Maimun Kaddah, before mentioned (note 1, p. 418). This Ahmed was an ancestor of Sáid, or Obaid-allah, the founder of the Fatimite khalifs. Hamden Karmata recommended community of women, and released men from all moral and religious duties. In the year of the Hejira 286 (A. D. 899), Abu Sáid, surnamed Habab, at the head of the Karmatians, waged war upon the khalif Motadhet, in Syria; he took the town Hagiar, the Petra deserti of the Romans, once the capital of Arabia, and made it his residence. He was assassinated in the year of the Hejira 301 (A. D. 913). He left six sons; after the death of the last of them, Yusuf (Abu Yakub), in the year 366, A. D. 976, the Karmatians confided their government to six seids called *sadah*, "pure." This sect, after many combats, was dissipated towards the end of the tenth century of our era. — (See *Chrestom. ar.*, vol. II. p. 126.)

The Ismâilahs are also denominated *Talamites*, *Khurramiah*, *Safiah*, *Babeciah*, *Majmirah*, *Maknâyah*, etc. — (*As. Res.* vol. XI. p. 421, etc.) I have no room for an account of each of them: I shall only add the name of the *Druses*, a sect existing in our days, upon which Silvestre de Sacy gave a particular notice drawn from their own papers, in his *Chrestomathie arabe*, vol. II. pp. 191. 227, and undertook a detailed history of this sect. The name of the Druses is derived from دروز, *deroz*, or درزية, *derziyet*, "juncture." They are the disciples of Hamza, son of Ali, and honor as a god *Hakem beamr allah*, "he who governs by the order of "God;" the sixth Fatimite khalif, in descent from Obaid-allah. Hakem was born in the year of the Hejira 375, A. D. 985; he was saluted khalif in 386 (A. D. 996); he disappeared, some say was assassinated, at the end of 411, A. D. 1020. The Druses give the same dates of his birth, reign,

The Imáms of the Ismâílíah showed themselves very kind to all creatures. Thus Mans'ur, the son of Azíz, known under the name of Alhákem ba amra allah, an Ismáílah, ordered in Egypt that, for the convenience of purchase and sale, the doors of the shops should be kept open at night, and the windows of Cairo not shut, that besides torches should be lighted in the narrow streets the whole night, and the people freely move in the market places and squares. This lord was skilful in all sciences, and powerful in prodigies, like his glorious ancestor Muhammed Mokhtar. Thus he said: "in such a night, a mis- "fortune will befall me:" and so it happened.[1]

and death, but say he was the son of Ismâil, a descendant of Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, and his mother was of the race of Fatima, surnamed Zahra, the daughter of Muhammed the prophet. In short, every division of the Ismáilah appears to have its own *Mahdi*, "director," but always traces his origin to Ali and Fatima. The Druses expect the return of Hakem; he is to reign over the whole earth during centuries of centuries, and the unitarian Druses with him: the other sects shall be obliged to pay homage and tribute to him. The Druses esteem the Koran very much, but the prophet not at all; they have rejected circumcision, fasting, and prayer, and indulge in drinking wine, eating pork, and marrying within the prohibited degrees.

[1] The character and life of the khalif, mentioned above and in the preceding note, exhibit a strange mixture of intelligence and folly, superstition and incredulity, simplicity and ostentation, abstemiousness and liberality, intolerance and forbearance, cruelty and mildness; all his good and bad actions were marked with something whimsical and fantastical: still more—he wanted to be God: thus he realized in himself the idea of a monstrous tyrant. To his honor be it said that he founded in Cairo the first university of the middle ages.—(See his *Life*.

The Imáms of the western Ismâílíah were all zealous in the practices of exterior worship, and an account of them is published in the historical books. The Ismâílíah of Iran are celebrated with the Ismâílíah of Kohistán and Rúdbár.[1] The first of the former was *Hassan*, son of *Sábáh*. As the account of him in the histories has been traced with the pen of partiality, therefore I shall endeavor to make a statement such as obtains credit among the Ismâílíah concerning him.[2]

The lineage of Hassan is connected with Muhammed Sabah Zamérí; his grandfather, who descended from the family of Sábah Zamérí, came from Yemen

by Macrisi, in the *Chrest. ar.*, tom, I. p. 93 *et seq.*, and *Gemäldesaal mosl., Herrsher, Band III. Seite* 226, etc.)

[1] We observe two great divisions of the Ismâilahs; namely, the *Western*, to whom alone, till now, the account of the Dabistân referred, and the Ismâilah *of Iran*, that is, those who established themselves in the strongholds of *Kohistan* (Khorassan), and in *Rúdbar*, which last is the name of a fort in the province of *Jebal*, or Persian Irak.

[2] An excellent work to be consulted with respect to Hassan, son of Sábáh, is the history concerning him contained in روضة الصفا في سيرة الانبيا والمولك ولخالفا *Rúzat al sa'fa' fi' si'rat al anbi'a w' al mulk w' al khalifa*, "the Garden of Purity, containing the history "of prophets and khalifs," composed by *Muhammed*, son of *Khavendshah*, known under the name of *Mirkhond*, born in the year of the Hejira 837, or at the end of 836 (A. D. 1432 or 1433), deceased in 903 (A. D. 1498). The Persian text of the part of it here pointed out was published in Paris, 1812, by Am. Jourdain, with a French translation and Notes, some of which are by Silvestre de Sacy. I shall, in my quotations from it, use only the name "Mirkhond."

to Kúfa, from Kúfa to Kam, and from Kam to Rái. His father is also said to have been Alí,[1] a person devout and learned in the religion of Ismâílism; he found a livelihood in the country of Rái. The judge of this province, Abú Muslem Rází, on account of the contrariety of religion, bore him enmity. At the time when the Imám Mavafek Níshápúrí, one of the most learned Sonnites, flourished in Khorássan, the father (Alí), in order to remove from the suspicions of the enemy, having brought his fortunate son to Níshápúr, into the society of the Imam Movafik, procured him the opportunity of being intent upon his own advantage, whilst he himself, seated in the corner of tranquillity, devoted himself to piety. He never permitted himself speech above the comprehension of the vulgar, for fear that any person might consider them speeches of heretics and infidels, and accuse him of impiety and irreligion. Hassan was a condisciple of Nizam al mulk, of Túss,[2]

[1] Some people of Hassan's sect established his genealogy as follows: "Hassan, son of Ali, son of Jâfer, son of Hassan, son of Muhammed, son "of Sabah Homairi Yemini, but Hassan, to whom it was presented, or- "dered it to be cancelled, saying: 'I prefer being a simple privileged "'servant of the Imám to being his degenerated son.'" — (*Mirkhond*, p. 39.)

[2] We shall have further to notice Nizam ul mulk, and a remarkable work which he left. From this work, Mirkhond (p. 31) quotes the following words respecting the Imám Movafek, above mentioned: "The "Imám, one of the most illustrious among the learned men of Khorassan, "was generally honored, and his society sought after as a source of hap-

and Omar Khayám[1] of Níshápúr. As his glorious father had revealed to him that Nizám al Mulkh would rise to a high rank of worldly greatness, and Hassan to a great dignity, visible and invisible, therefore Hassan said to Nizam al mulk: "Which-"ever of us attains a high dignity, shall divide "the fortune by him acquired between us three "equally;" and in this sense they bound themselves by a covenant. When khájah became a vizir in the time of Alp Arselan,[2] then Hakím Omar Khayám came to him, and in the corner of contemplative retirement, devoted himself to the acquisition of virtues. Khojah took no notice of his arrival. Hassan expected that Nizam al mulk would call him to his presence; disappointed in this,

"piness. He was then more than eighty-five years of age, and it was an "opinion generally received, that all young men who instructed them-"selves under his direction in the science of the Koran and prophetic "traditions, obtained the favor of fortune."

[1] Mirkhond has *Hakim Omar Khayam*. Silvestre de Sacy (p. 32, note) thought that it would perhaps be better to translate "Hakim, son of "Omar," and *Khayam* is a surname, signifying "maker of tents."

[2] Alp Arselan, son of Daud (or David), son of Mikail (Michael), son of Seljuk was the second sultan of the family and dynasty of the Seljucides. He succeeded to Togrul Bèg, his uncle, who died without offspring in the year of the Hejira 455 (A. D. 1063). At first called *Isrâil*, he took, after his conversion to Muhammedism, the name of Muhammed with the surname *Alp Arselan*, "the courageous lion" in the Turkish language. His most memorable victory was that gained with 12.000 men over 300,000 Greeks, whom he put to flight, and took their emperor Romanus, surnamed Diogenes.

he, during the reign of Alp Arslan, did not join Khajah, but in the time of Sultan Malik Shah[1] he presented himself in Nísháp̀úr to Khajah, but the latter did not mind the covenant that he had made, nor introduce him to the assembly of the king. Helpless then, the *Sayid al táifah*, "the chief of the sect," that is, Hassan, said to Khájah: "Thou belongest "to the learned, and to the companions of cer-"tainty, and thou knowest that the world is a vile "object; should such a meanness be allowable, "that thou, on account of rank and the love of sway, "shouldst exhibit thyself a violator of promises, "and enter the number of those of whom it is "said: 'They break the covenant of God.'"

"Place the hand of faith into the girdle of promise,
"And endeavor to be no breaker of thy word."

Khájah, perplexed, brought him to the court of the Sultan, to whom he said much of Hassan's sagacity, but also gave information that the man was violent, avaricious, inconsistent, and undeserving of confidence. As Hassan was learned, and an able man of business, therefore his piety and prudence made in a short time a great impression upon the

[1] Moez eddin (according to others *Jelal eddin*, or *Jelal daulet*, "the "glory of religion or of state") Abu'l fetah Malic-shah, son of Alp Arslan, although not the eldest, was declared by his father to be his successor, by the counsel of the above mentioned Nizam ul mulk, and mounted the throne after his father's death, in the year of the Hejira 465 (A. D. 1072). A reform of the Calendar made under his reign was called *Tarikh Jelali*.

mind of the Sultan, who, in many great and important affairs, acted according to his advice. As the Sultan thought that what Khâja had said of the inconsistency and avarice of Hassan's character was mere falsehood, and on account of other disorder, some dissatisfaction with Khájah came into the Sultan's mind. One day he asked Khájah: "In what "time art thou able to settle a clear account, such "as that of a collector of the receipts and charges "of the empire?" Khájah replied: "In two "years." The Sultan said: "That is a long time." Hassan took an engagement with the king that he would bring it to a conclusion in forty days, under the stipulation that, during this time, all the writers should be at his service. The Sultan gave his approbation to the proposal, and Hassan, faithful to his promise, settled in forty days the account of the finances of the empire with the utmost exactness. Khájah, on hearing this intelligence, was troubled. According to the account of some, a slave of Khájah, who was upon terms of friendship with a servant of Hassan, or according to others, Khájah himself, took the register from the hands of the servant, who was carrying the leaves of it outside the king's hall,[1] and mutilated the register. The ser-

[1] Mirkhond (p. 37, French transl.) gives a clearer account of the event, as follows: Nizam-ul-mulk, before the presentation of the register to the Sultan, having met Hassan's servant outside the hall, requested of him

vant brought to Hassan the leaves, without minding their order and without mentioning to him the occurrence; therefore, at the time of presenting the register, Hassan found it mutilated, and intent upon arranging and putting it in order, confused the leaves. The Sultan was impatient to know the receipts, charges, and revenues of the country; but Hassan was not able to answer, and spoke with hesitation. The Sultan, being vexed at meeting with such delay, said: "What is the reason of these difficulties?" As he received no answer, suitable to his questions, he became agitated. Khájah Nizám ul mulk took the opportunity to say: "Intelligent persons, to com- "plete this business, demanded a delay of two years; "an ignorant man pretends that, to finish it, forty "days are sufficient for this important work: his "answer to any question can but be insignificant. "I have formerly represented, that in his character "there is a total levity, and that his speeches "deserve no confidence."[1] On this account, the

to see the register, in order that he might know the manner in which it was made, and the servant not daring, out of respect to the minister, refuse it to him, delivered the register into the hands of Nizam-ul-mulk, who, having seen the nicety of the statements, dropped the leaves in such a manner as to disperse them, and said: "Many plunders are written "in this register." The servant, on account of the risk he ran if he avowed what had happened, said nothing of the fact to Hassan. When the latter presented his statements, he found them mutilated, and the leaves confusedly mixed.

[1] Nizam-ul-mulk, who in the above related anecdote, does not appear in

Sultan was displeased. Hassan consequently betook himself to flight, and hastened to Rudbar, in which country he found refuge with Abed-ul Malik Atás, who was a follower of the Ismâílíah; from thence he went to Isfahán, and, from fear of the Sultan and of Khájah, he concealed himself in the house of the Ráis Abulfazil. One day, in the midst of conversation, it escaped from his tongue: "If I "found two proper friends, I would put in confu- "sion this Turk and his places." The Ráis Abulfásil ascribed this speech to a derangement of the brain; and, without disclosing his idea to Hassan, he prepared for him aliments, such as are proper for strengthening the brain. Our Sáid Hassan, from his great sagacity, having perceived the intention of his mind, hastened from thence to another place, and afterwards took possession of the fort *Almút*.[1] The Ráis Abulfazil joined him. Our Sáid

an advantageous light, has nevertheless the reputation of having been a most learned man, and a protector of science. He left a work, called *vas'iyet Nizam-ul mulk*, "the testament of Nizam-ul-mulk," from which Mirkhond relates, partly in the same words as the author, what had passed between Nizam-ul-mulk and Hassan; the former, of course, endeavors to vindicate his conduct towards the latter. Nizam-ul-mulk, after having rendered the most eminent services to his Sultan, was discarded by him on the suggestions of a Sultana, and assassinated, in the year of the Hejira 485 (A. D. 1092), according to Herbelot (*art. Malik-schah*), by the successor to his office; according to our author (see hereafter) by an emissary of Hassan Sabah.

[1] See hereafter the notice of this fort, when the event will be related in due order of time.

then said: "Is my brain deranged, or hast thou "not seen how, as soon as I had found two proper "friends, I have made good my word?"

At last, our Sáid went to Egypt, and at that time Mantas'er[1] an Ismâílíah, sat upon the throne of the Khiláfet, and, being pleased with his sight, bestowed favors upon him, wherefore Hassan remained one year and a half under Montas'er's protection. After this, a great enmity arose between him and Amír *Aljíyúsh*,[2] from this reason: Montas'er withdrew from his son Nazár the succession to his dignity, and issuing afterwards a second order, transferred it to his other son Ahmed surnamed Almistálí billah.[3] As a tumultuous concourse of the people took place on that account, Amír Aljíyûsh approved of the latter appointment, but Hassan said: "Re- "spect is due to the first nomination;" and he invited the people to adhere to Nazár's Imámate,[4] Amir

[1] This was Moadd, Mostanser Billah, who began to reign (according to Abulfeda) in the year of the Hejira 427 (A. D. 1035), and died in 487 (A. D. 1094).

[2] This word means "the commander in chief of the Egyptian troops;" his name was *Bedr al Jemalí*.—See, respecting him, *Les Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte, par M. Etienne Quatremère*, t. II. p. 420 *et seq.*, note of Silvestre de Sacy.)

[3] Abu'l Kasem Ahmed al mistáli billah reigned from the year of the Hejira 487 (A. D. 1094) to 495 (A. D. 1101).

[4] On account of their adherence to Nazár, the sect, headed by Hassan Sabah, and the Ismâilah of Persia are called also Nazárián, which is a more probable derivation than that in note 4, p. 419.

Aljíyúsh, with the concurrence of some Umrá, represented to Montas er that Hassan, on account of this guilt, deserved to be imprisoned in the fort Damíat. Soon after this was done, a tower of the rampart of the fort, which was of a perfect strength, fell down, wherefore the people apprehended a still greater miracle from Hassan; at last the Amír Aljíyúsh sent him, with some people of the Franks, on board a ship bound to the West. The vessel was scarcely in the open sea, when a violent wind began to blow, the sea became boisterous, and the ship's crew were agitated; but Hassan showed himself in that state of mind described by Amir Khusro:

> "That thou mayst not be moved by every blast of wind,
> "Draw in thy skirts (collect thyself) like a mountain;
> "For man is but a handful of dust,
> "And life is a violent storm."

On this occasion one of the voyagers asked Hassan: "What is the reason that I do not see thee dis-"turbed?" Hassan answered: "It is because the "Múláná, that is, the Imám, revealed to me that "no misfortune will befall the passengers of the "ship." At the same moment, the tumult was calmed. On that account, love for Hassan gained the hearts of the whole company, and the vessel went to one of the towns of the Nazaréens. Hassan from thence embarked in another ship, and arrived at the frontier of *Shám* (Syria), where he landed.

From thence he hastened to Haleb (Alep),[1] and then satisfied his desire to go to Baghdad, from which place he betook himself hastily to Khózistán, which country he left for Isfahán: in this way he travelled, concealed and clandestinely, in the countries of Irak and Azerbáíjan, and invited the people to the doctrine of the Ismáílíah, and to the Imámate of Názár; he sent *dáâis*,[2] "missionaries," to the fort *Almút*, and to other fastnesses and cities of Rúdbár and Kohistán, that they might invite the people to the true faith: in a short time, a great number of men adopted this religion. Afterwards, having fixed his abode in a place near Almút, he devoted himself entirely to a religious life, to rectitude and the submission to God, which was his very nature.[3] The

[1] Haleb, a town in Syria, is said to be as ancient as the dynasty of the Kayanian kings of Persia; it was in this town, that Kushtasp received the royal crown sent him by his father Lohrasp. It is the ancient Berrhœa.

[2] *Da âi'* appears to have been a particular and eminent dignity among the Ismâilahs. It is said of Nazir-eddin, a minister of Mostanser Billah, that he occupied at the same time the places of great Kázi, of great *Da'ái'*, and of Vizir. According to Mokrizi (see *Chrestom. ar.*, vol. I. p. 142) the Dáâi of the Dáâis follows in rank immediately the Kázi of Kázis, and wears the same costume. He teaches the doctrine of his sect, and receives the engagement of all those who renounce their former creed, adopting that of the Fatimites.

[3] Mirkhond gives a more detailed account of Hassan's itinerary, as follows: Hassan went from Isfahan to Yezed, and to Kirman; whence he returned to Isfahan, where he resided four months; he departed again for Khozistan, staid there three months, and then went to Damegan,

inhabitants, having heard his followers, were converted to his doctrine, and in the month of Rajeb (December) in the year of the Hejira 484 (A. D. 1091), a troop of the inhabitants of Almút brought this personage into the fort.[1] Finally, when he had entered the fort, a chief, Alí Mahdî by name, who,

in which town and district he passed three years. After that he proceeded to Jorjan, and using every caution for not falling into the hands of his enemies, he went to Sari, from thence to Damawend, whence, by the route of Kazwin, he entered Dilem; from thence he passed into a town near Alamut, where he devoted himself to a religious life. I have thus enumerated the countries in which the doctrine of the Ismâilahs was more or less spread, but not without opposition.

[1] Alamut is a town and fort near Kazvin, in the Persian province of *Ghilan*, on the western shore of the Caspian sea. آلہ اموت, *ilah amut*, means "nest of a vulture." The value of the numbers represented by the letters of these two words make together the epoch of Hassan's entering the fort, viz.:

ا	=	1
ل	=	30
ہ	=	5
ا	=	1
م	=	40
و	=	6
ت	=	400
		483

483 of the Hejira (A. D. 1090), in the month of Rajeb, the seventh of the Muhammedan year; Abulfeda (vol. III. p. 425) says the eighth month of the year 483. This stronghold soon became the capital of a formidable sovereign, known among the European crusaders, under the name of *shaikh al Jebal*, interpreted "the old man of the mountain."

under the authority of Sultan Malik shah, was governor of this province, found himself bereft of power and was obliged to submit. The adversaries of the Ismâlîah say, that one day Alî Mahdî asserted, " deception in law is allowable," and gave an account of some deceptions in religious law ; but our Sâid declared that, the centre of law being rectitude, deception is not permitted, and all those who practise deception, shall be brought to account for it by God.

Some time after it, Hassan said one day to Mahdi: " Sell to me for three thousand dinars as much of " the ground of this fort as a cow-skin will be able " to embrace." Mahdi, having agreed to the bargain, our Sâid made the cow-skin into thin stripes, which he joined together and surrounded the whole fort. He then wrote an order to the Ráis Mazafer, who held a command at the foot of the mountains of Dámâan, and was a follower of his doctrine, to that effect : " The Ráis Mazafer (may God Almighty " guard him !) shall pay to Alî Mahdî three thousand " dinars, as the price of the fort Almút. Blessing " upon the prophet and his descendants ; God suf- " fices to us, and it is good to trust our interests " to him."

Having written this, he delivered it to Mahdi, and brought him out of the fort. The latter, some time after, pressed by indigence, presented the writ

to the Râis Mazafer, and received three thousand dinars in gold.

Thus at last the affairs of our Sáid were carried, after many difficulties, to the possession of the castle Almút, and in a short time the whole country of Rúdbár and Kohistan fell into his fortunate hands; within thirty and six years, he rose to great prosperity and power. After him seven of his followers held the government, and the duration of the prosperity of this sect was eighty and one years.[1] Our Sáid strove at perfection of rectitude and piety, and the zeal of this lord in upholding the law was carried to such a degree, that he drove out of the fort an individual who played the flute, and in spite of the intercessions of many persons in his favor, never gave him entrance again. During the time of his government, he went no more than twice to sit upon the terrace of his house, and never was seen out of the fort, always occupied with the direction of the affairs of the state and of religion. In his time the fedáyís (his devoted followers) destroyed a great number of the great and noble adversaries of his sect.[2] At last death transported our Sáid from

[1] The author neglects to mention the date from which he begins his computation.

[2] Hassan Sabah, from the height of Alamut, commanded the country around, and terrified the inhabitants, high and low, by a set of devoted adherents, whom he sent about to propagate his religion, and to execute his commands, which were frequently the murder of his enemies.

this world of vexations to the gardens of paradise, in the fourth month of the year (September, the beginning of autumn) of the Hejira 518[1] (A. D. 1124-5).

His appointed successor was *Kia Buzerk umíd.*

As *Hussáin Fáni*, one of the trusty companions of our Sáid,[2] with a troop of refîks (followers)[3] brought Kohistán into his possession, one of the Umrás of Malikshah, who was in Rúdbár, besieged several times the fort Almút, and spread slaughter and devastation about, in such a manner that the situation of the inhabitants of that castle having become distressing, they desired to retire into the valley. Our Sáid, exhorting them to patience and perseverance, declared that the Imám, namely Montas'er, had said, the Almutian ought not o desert the place, which should become to them the seat of good fortune. At this very time, that person, their enemy, passed to the other world, and our Sáid was liberated of all anxiety: on which

[1] The edition of Calcutta has erroneously 508.

[2] Our author, regardless of order, reverts to events which took place during the life of Hassan.

[3] *Refi'k*, in general acceptation, "follower," is a distinctive name given to the Ismâilahs, and particularly to men carrying arms, in opposition to the class of dâàis, or "missionaries," and perhaps also to the fedâyis.—(Note of *Silvestre de Sacy*, in *Jourdain's French transl. of Mirkhond*, p. 39).

account the fort was named *Buldet-ul ikbál*, " the " town of good fortune."

In the beginning of the year of the Hejira 485 (A. D. 1092), the Amír Arslán sháh[1] moved, by order of the Sultan Maliksháh, the army against Buldet-ul ikbal. As the situation of the inhabitants of the fort became desperate,[2] Abu Alí, who was one of the adherents of our Sáid, and resided in Kazvîn, sent them three hundred valiant men; and this robust body threw themselves by night into the fort, from whence, making a night sally upon the Arslánían, they routed them, and carried off an immense booty.

When the fugitives arrived in the camp of the Sultan, he sent *Kazil Sarúk*, with a strong army to reduce the rebels *in Khorasan*, Hassáin Fáni, *one of Hassan's chiefs*, having taken refuge with his rafiks in *Múmin-ábád*, the general of the Sultan made the necessary preparations for a siege. When he was upon the point of seizing the splendid conquest, the intelligence suddenly spread of the murder of Khájah Nizam al mulk by the hand of *Abu Táher Adáni*, who was one of the fedáyis of our Sâid; and closely to this followed the report of the death of Maliksháh; on which account this army dispersed, and as the dissension between Barkíarok and the Sultan Muhammed *sons of Malikshah*, occasioned

[1] Mirkhond says the Amir Arslan-tash.

[2] Hassan, according to Mirkhond, had but seventy rafiks with him.

their weakness,[1] the strength of the Ismâílíah was

[1] Barkiarok, son of Malik shah, was the fourth sultan of the house of the Seljucides. He received at the circumcision the Muselman name of Kassem, and the title of *Rokn-eddin*, " the column of religion," was given to him by Mectadi, the khalif of Baghdad. Barkiarok was the eldest son of Malik shah, whom he succeeded in the year of the Hejira 485 (A. D. 1092).

His stepmother, Turkan Khatun, had a son by Malik shah, called Mahmúd. At the death of the Sultan, being in the town of Baghdad, she obtained, by solicitations and presents, from the khalif Mortadi, letters of investiture in favor of her own son Mahmud, who, then only four years old, was proclaimed the legitimate heir of his father's empire, whilst Barkiarok was at Ispahan, then the seat of the Seljucides, recognised, by right of primogeniture, the only legitimate successor of his father. But Turkan Khatun marched to Ispahan with an army, surprised Barkiarok, and seized the town, and the person of her step-son. The latter however, aided by the faithful servants of his father, escaped from her hands, and found a refuge at Shiraz, the residence of *Takash-teghin* the *Atabek*, or " lieutenant-general " of Persia. With this chief's assistance, Barkiarok presented himself with an army of two hundred thousand men before Ispahan, and besieged Mahmud and his mother. A peace was concluded: the Sultana and her son were to possess the town and dependencies of Ispahan, but to divide Malik shah's treasury with Barkiarok; he received five hundred thousand gold dinars for his share, and, having raised the siege, moved to Hamdan, where Ismâil, one of his uncles, commanded.

Ismâil had declared himself for the Sultana: a battle was fought in the plain of Hamdan, in the year of the Hejira 486 (A. D. 1093); Bakiarok gained the victory: his uncle fell.

In the very same year, the victor was obliged by another uncle of his, Takash, son of Aslan shah, to retire towards Ispahan. He was kindly received by his brother Mahmud, then free from the tutelage of his mother, who had died; both brothers appeared linked in the bonds of perfect amity; but the partizans of the younger seized the person of the elder, and imprisoned him in the castle. It was the sudden death of Mahmud by the small pox which liberated Barkiarok, and gave him the possession of the empire. This was not left undisturbed, but this is not

increased, and the forts *Girdkoh* and *Lämiser* fell into the possession of our Sáid.[1]

At that time the fedáyis, in order to destroy the learned men and theologians, who entertained a hatred towards the chosen Ismâílíah, and reviled their creed, were dispersed on all sides, and brought a great number of this class beneath the blows of their swords and poniards: on which account the learned men and the theologians of the adversaries were frightened.

When Sultan Barkíárok, the son of Malik shah, died, Sultan Muhammed Doulet[2] succeeded to his sovereignty. The latter sent Ahmed, the son of Nizam ul Mulk, with an army to the country of Rúdbár. In the beginning of the year of the Hejira 511[3] (A. D. 1117) he despatched Alabet Tóshacín shërgír[4] to the assistance of the Vizir; nearly a year had elapsed when they were about to take the fort

the place to relate the events of his agitated reign, of about thirteen years, which terminated in the year of the Hejira 498 (A. D. 1104). I have said enough to show how, among such disturbances, the power of the Ismâilah could grow in the Persian provinces: to this I shall add that during the reign of Barkiarok, the European crusaders took Nicæa and Antiochia, and the cross was fixed upon the walls of Jerusalem, Akka, and Edessa.

[1] This was in the year of the Hejira 495 (A. D. 1101–2).

[2] Son of Malik shah, the fifth Sultan of the Seljucides, who reigned from the year of the Hejira 501 to 511 (A. D. 1107 to 1117).

[3] The edition of Calcutta reads erroneously 591.

[4] Mirkhond has Alabek Nushtékin Shergir.

Buldet ul ikbál; at that time the intelligence of the death of Sultan Muhammed was spread in Atabec's camp: on which account that army took to flight in the night time.

When Sultan Sinjar[1] had placed the crown of sovereignty upon his head, he sent forces several times to combat the sect of the Ismâílíah. At that time our Sáid Hassan enjoined to one of the Sultan's servants, who had adopted the creed of the Ismâílíah: "Fix a dagger in the ground near the "Sultan's head; but do him no harm, because thou "art nourished by his salt, and it is not right to "lay the hand on the master." The servant did so. When Sinjar awoke from sleep, he saw the dagger, and was very much frightened, but kept this occurrence concealed.

Some days after, the ambassador of our Sáid came to visit him, and said: "If we did not entertain "friendship for the Sultan, that dagger, which in "such a night was fixed in the hard ground, would "have been buried in the soft bosom of the Sultan." After having heard this, the Sultan's apprehension

[1] The sixth Sultan of the Seljucides, named Moezzeddin Abu 'l Hareth Sinjar, son of Malik shah. He governed the province Khorassan during twenty years, under the reigns of his brothers Barkiárok and Muhammed; after the death of the latter, he seized the whole empire, and, having overcome his nephew Mahmud, son of Muhammed, reigned with various vicissitudes of fortune during forty years and four months (from 1117 to 1157 A. D).

increased, and he made peace;[1] wherefore the state of Hassan's affairs gained strength.

In the meantime, Hossâín Fány[2] became a martyr, by the iniquity of *the Ostad*, "doctor" Hossáín, the son of Hassan, the son of Sabah; our Sáid ordered, that he should be put to death by the law of retaliation. About this time, another son of Hassan was found addicted to drinking wine; by order of his celebrated father, soon after his brother, he drank the cup of death.

Our Sáid, having fallen sick in the year of the Hejira 518[3] (A. D. 1124-5), he appointed *Kia buzerg Umid* his successor, and committed the dignity of his vizirate to *Abu Alí;* he enjoined these two persons that, in all transactions they should not deviate from the direction given them by Hossan Fakráni,[4] and

[1] This peace, according to Mirkhond (*French transl.*, p. 48) was made under three conditions, to which the Ismâliahs were held:—1, not to add any new work to their castles; 2, not to buy arms and warlike stores; 3, not to make new proselytes. The Muhammedan doctors, not having approved the treaty, the people suspected the Sultan of some hankering for the sect of the Ismâilahs. Notwithstanding the peace was concluded between Sinjar and them, who had even the revenue of some districts assigned to them, and were in others exempt from paying duties.

[2] Hossáin Fáni was the dâái of Kohistan. Although, according to Mirkhond, his death was also ascribed to Hossáin Damawendi, we can but suppose that Hassan must, upon very strong grounds, have condemned his own son to death.

[3] The edition of Calcutta reads erroneously 580.

[4] Mirkhond says, that these two personages were to regulate the affairs of the state conjointly with Hossáin Káini.

having thus settled these affairs, on the twenty-eighth day of the last Rabiâ (the fourth month) of the said year, he emigrated to the gardens of Paradise.

Kiá Buzurg Umid, who was originally from the country of Rúdbár, tended, according to the precept of our Sáid, towards devotion and the strengthening of religion.[1]

After him, Muhammed Buzerg Umíd took the government. In the beginning of his reign *Alrá-shid billah*[2] was killed by a band of fedáyís, and from this time, fearing the swords of the Almútían, the khalifs concealed themselves. Muhammed Buzerg also followed the example of Hassan.

After him came Muhammed, the son of Hassan, the son of Muhammed, who is known under the name *Alí zikrihi-al-sálam*, which means "let peace "be upon him." Concerning Hossan there are many tales. His adversaries assert, that he was the

[1] According to Mirkhond, he reigned twenty-four years, during which some memorable events took place (see *French transl.*, pp. 49-51) here omitted for want of room.

[2] The thirtieth khalif of the Abbasides; he who assassinated in the Hejira 530 (A. D. 1135). His father, Mostarshed, had met with the same fate by the hands of the Fedayis, towards the end of Kia Buzurg's reign. To exhibit the long series of assassinations by which the Fedâyís spread terror all over Asia, is a weighty task, which has been recently performed by the master-hand of the Baron von Hammer. —(See his *Geschichte der Assassinen.*)

Muhammed Buzerg died after a reign of twenty-five years.

son of Muhammed Umíd, and a class of the Ismâílíah of Rúdbár and Kohistan said that, in the time of the reign of our Sáid, one year after the death of Mont aser the High, a person called Abul Hassan Sayidí, who had been in the particular confidence of the khalif, came from Egypt to Almut, and brought with him a boy descended from Nazár, the son of Montas er, to whom the Imámate belonged, and nobody was informed of this secret except our Sáid, that is, Hassan, who treated Abul Hassan with regard and respect, and made the Imám reside in a village at the foot of Almút. After a delay of six months, he gave Abul Hassan leave to depart. The Imám was inclined to the worship of God and to retirement, and united himself in wedlock with a modest woman in the village. When she became pregnant, he committed her to Muhammed, the son of Buzerg Umíd, and recommended secresy in that affair, saying: " When a boy comes to light, take the woman." Muhammed acted according to the injunction, and during the reign of Muhammed, son of Buzerg Umíd, the belief in the appearance of a son, identified with Alí zikrichi-al salam, gained the way of splendor, and the report was this—that he was the son of Muhammed. Many asserted that whatever deed and action emanates from the Imám is not only lawful but laudable. The son of Nazar, whom Abul Hassan Sâyídí had brought to Almút, when

arrived at the age of virility, had connexion with the lawful wife of Muhammed, the son of Buzerg Umíd, and Ali zikrichi al salam was the fruit of it. Although, because proceeding from a prophet and Imám, this action be legal, yet it was not necessary. The relation between Alî zikrichi al salam and Montas'er Billah is derived from this cause. The Ismâílíah acknowledge as a legitimate Imám the victorious by the power of God, Hassan, the son of Mahdi, the son of Ilhádi, the son of Nazár, the son of Montasar. They call his precious spirit "the resurrection;"[1] because they believe that the resurrection takes place at the lord's time, when men join God, and when the inconveniences of the law are taken off; this meaning is expressed by "resurrection;" and that the lord, at the time of his Imámate, having united the creatures with the Creator, threw off the observances of the law.

It is reported that, when this lord placed his foot upon the cushion of the khiláfet, in the year of the Hejira 559 (A. D. 1163-4), he convoked all the chiefs and nobles of his dominion in Buldet ul ikbál, and ordered that, in the meeting-place of that fortunate fort, a pulpit should be placed towards the Kiblah,

[1] In the style of the Batenian and the Druses, *resurrection* signifies the day of the manifestation of the Imám, his doctrine, the entire triumph of his religion and the abolition of every other sect.—(Note of *Silvestre de Sacy*, p. 54 of the work already quoted.)

and four flags, one red, another green, the third yellow, and the fourth white, should be fixed in the four corners of the pulpit. On the seventeenth day of the blessed Ramzan of the said year, he ascended the pulpit, and unfolding the tongue of prodigious speeches, he said: "I am the Imám "of the age; and I took off the hardship of the "ordinances and prohibitions from the inhabi- "tants of the world, and I held the commands of "the law for nothing; now is the period of the "lord of the resurrection; the creatures are to "be bound by ties of love to God, and enjoy the "external things in whatever manner they like." He then descended from the top of the pulpit, and, having broken fast, ordered that, in the manner of a festival, all should occupy themselves with mirth and cheerfulness, and playing and gaming; and this fortunate day was entitled "the festival "of resurrection," and made the beginning of a new era. This is also the day on which, according to the reckoning of many historians, the lord *Amír Almumin Alí*, "the Amír of the believers," was wounded by Abd ul rahmen. As to escape from this world and to join heaven is the object of enjoyment of perfect spirits, so do they on this day chiefly devote themselves to pleasure. The creed of this lord was, that the world is ancient, and time infinite; that the other world is spiritual, and

heaven and hell figurative; that the resurrection is the particular death of every one. This lord was stabbed with a dagger in the month Rubiâ (August) of the year of the Hejira 561 [1] (A. D. 1165-6) by Hassan, the son of Namvár, who descended from Bavíah.[2] On account of the last will of his father, he occupied the Imámate; like his celebrated father, he upheld the faith.

Jelál eddin, of the same family, made a martyr of his father by means of poison. As he obtained the Imámate in an undue manner, and seized the government by usurpation, he also abandoned the religion of the Ismâilíah. After eleven years, in the month

[1] The edition of Calcutta has erroneously 541.

[2] Mirkhond says (*French transl.*, p. 56): Hassan was stabbed in the castle of Lamsir, by his wife's brother, who descended from the family of Baviah, and had preserved the faith of, and attachment to, the ancient religion.

There is evidently an omission or hiatus at this place in the edition of Calcutta. According to Mirkhond (pp. 57–59), after the murder of Hassan, son of Muhammed, Hassan's son Muhammed, occupied the throne. He maintained the doctrine of his father, and had great pretensions to learning. He governed, from the age of nineteen, forty-six years with great success; the *Molheds* (so were called his adherents) triumphed every where among rapine and bloodshed. He died in the year of the Hejira 607 (A. D. 1210-1). He was succeeded by his son Jelal eddin Hassan, ben Muhammed, ben Hassan, who was born in the year of the Hejira 552 (A. D. 1157-8), therefore fifty-three years old when he began to reign. Mirkhond says, doubtingly, that according to some historians, he poisoned his father, which is positively asserted in the text of the Dabistân. He re-established the Muslim religion, and acquired the name of Jelal-eddin *no'u Muselman*, " new Muselman."

Ramzan of the year of the Hejirah 618[1] (A. D. 1221-2) he died of dysentery.

After him, Ala eddin Muhammed, son of Jelál eddin Hassan, put to death all those who, by orders of Jelál eddin, had given poison to his grandfather, and who had also participated in the opinions and behaviour of Jelál eddin; he conformed himself to the manners of his ancestors, and denied those of his father. He let himself be bled without the advice of a medical man, and as too much blood was taken from him, he was overcome by melancholy.

The Ismâílíah say, that prophets and saints cannot live free from bodily defects: thus *Músi* (Moses) was a stammerer, *Shâyeb* (Jethro, father in law of Moses) was blind, and *Ayúb* (Job) was full of plagues. It was in the time of the lord Ala eddin Muhammed, that Nás'er Motashem, who was the lord of Kohistan, and to whom the book *Akhlák Nas'eri*[2] is dedicated, sent Khájah Nás'ir to Almút. Hassan Mázinderáni was contrary to Ismâílism; he made Alá-eddin a martyr (by killing him). In the time of Ala eddin there was among the learned men of the age the shaikh Jamál Gíli: in Kazvin, occupied with the instruction of the people; he was in secret addicted, and made proselytes, to the creed of the

[1] The edition of Calcutta has, most erroneously, 308.

[2] This is a treatise upon Morals, composed by Nas'ir eddin Túsi, upon whom see our note, 2, p. 417.

Ismâílíah; on that account, Alâ-eddin showed him respect, and conferred favors on the inhabitants of Kazvin, to whom he said that, if the shaikh did not live in that place, he would carry the ground of Kazvin in a beggar's wallet to Almút; but the learned, who were not Ismâílíah, did not acknowledge an Ismâílíah shaikh. In giving an account of his (Ala-eddin's) death it was said:

"The ornament of faith and religion, the polar-star of the elect of God,
"He whose threshold was the Kiblah of hopes,
"In the year six hundred and fifty-one[1] (A. D. 1253) he went to the "Lord,
"At night, on Monday, on the fourth day of Shavál (the tenth Arabian "month)."

After Alá-eddin Muhammed, it was Rukn-eddin Khúrshah who became king in Almút. He put to death Hassan Mazinderání with his family, and burnt their corpses.[2]

Holagú khan[3] overcame Rocn-eddin: the latter

[1] Mirkhond places the assassination of Ala eddin in the year of the Hejira 653 (A. D. 1255-6).

[2] Ruk neddin was the eldest son of Alâ-eddin; as heir presumptive he was much honored by the Ismâilahs, who made no difference between his orders and those of his father. The latter, irritated on that account, declared a younger son his successor, in spite of the people's attachment to the eldest. Rukn-eddin, perpetually threatened by Ala-eddin's resentment, took refuge in a well defended castle. He was suspected, and even accused by his own mother, of having been privy to the murder of his father, although he punished the murderer.

[3] Holagú was the grandson of *Jengish khan*. Born in 1127 A. D., Jengish khan, in the first moiety of the thirteenth century, came with six hundred thousand Tartars from the high lands between China, Siberia,

demanded to be sent to the court of Maikú khán, which demand was granted; on the journey he

and the Caspian sea, to act his formidable part in the Southern countries, already deluged with blood by the unceasing wars of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The dominion of the Seljuk dynasty, torn asunder by the dissensions of their members, during forty years after Sinjar, their Sultan, last mentioned in the Dabistán (p. 440), terminated with Toghrul the Third, in 1193 A. D.; there remained still a vigorous branch of it in Jelál-eddin, sultan of Khorazm, who retired before the great conqueror towards India; he was overthrown in a great battle on the Indus, in 1222 A. D. Jengishkhan died in 1227, after having made a division of his immense empire: he gave the kingdoms of Khorassan and Kabul to his fourth son, Tuli khan, who died soon after his father, leaving four sons, the two eldest of whom were the above mentioned Maikú kán (Mangu khán), and Holagú khán. The former ruled in Tartary, the second proceeded to the conquest of Persia and the empire of the khalifs. It was necessary first to subdue the Ismâilahs.

Rukn-eddin, according to Mirkhond, offered submission to Holagú: it was by accident that an action took place between the Ismâilahs and the troops sent by Holagú to take possession of Alamút. Rukn-eddin, after some delay, during which he had taken his residence in the fort Maimundiz, surrendered his person to Holagú, who had come to besiege it. With Rukn-eddin was the celebrated astronomer Nassir-eddin Túsi, who acted as ambassador and mediator; but seeing the ruin of the Ismâilahs, not, as he pretended, in the position of the heavenly bodies, but in the circumstances, he is accused of betraying his master and delivering him into the hands of the conqueror. More than forty castles, full of the Molhuds' treasures, were destroyed in a short time; among the last were Lamsir and Alamút; the inhabitants of the latter hesitated to surrender, not being able to separate themselves at once from their accustomed glory and independence, whilst their sovereign acted as an instrument in the hands of the conquerors for delivering up his own subjects, having lost, with his good fortune, all firmness and nobleness of mind.

One of the forts only remained: it was *Kirdcoh*. The feeble Rukn-eddin, on his way to Mangu khan, could not prevail upon himself to give it up, and instead of ordering the garrison to surrender, as he had

attained the extremity of his life; his reign did not last one year.

In Almút had been dug several reservoirs which were filled with vinegar, honey, and wine; these

promised, he sent them word to resist. Proceeding towards Tartary, he was put to death by the officers of his escort, who probably had received orders to that effect from Mangú khán. A death-mandate was also executed upon Rukn-eddin's sons, daughters, relatives, servants, and other followers all over the country; thousands of the Ismâilahs fell under the sword of the Tartars. Holagú completed the conquest of this powerful sect, which had been formidable in Asia during one hundred and sixty-six years, in the year of the Hejirá 654, A. D. 1256.

But the Ismâilahs did not cease to exist in Persia, where, even in our days, some remains of them are to be found. We read in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay (vol. II. pp. 281–294), that the parents of a Muhammed Mahdi, claiming descent from Ali, were inhabitants of Júnpúr, a town near Benares. He was born in the year of the Hejira 847 (A. D. 1443), declared himself a Mahdi, in Hejira 903 (A. D. 1491), first in Mecca, and then in Western India, in Guzerat, and Ajmir; and died in Hejira 910 (A. D. 1504), in Furuh, a city of Khorassan, not without leaving many followers, communities of whom remain, even in our days, most numerous in Sind, Guzerat, and the Deccan.

Halagú, after the overthrow of the Ismâilahs, marched towards Baghdád, it is said, at the instigation of Nassir-eddin. The celebrated seat of the khalifs was taken and destroyed in the year of the Hejira 656 (A. D. 1258), without the required efforts to defend it having been made by the thirty-seventh and last khalif of the Abbasides. This inglorious prince, fallen into the hands of his barbarous enemies, met with a cruel death, being packed up in a piece of felt, and dragged through the streets of his capital. With him perished the khalifate, a dominion once the most powerful and absolute of the world. It began with Abu Bekr in the eleventh year of the Hejira (A. D. 632), and lasted 645 lunar, or 625 solar years, during 520 of which it remained in the house of the Abbasides. The khalifate of the Fatimites in Egypt had ceased to exist in the year of the Hejirah 567 (A. D. 1171). All attempts to raise another khalifate in Asia and Africa had but a short and confined success, or none at all.

things and all stores, which had been deposited in the time of our Sáíd, that is, of Hassan S'abáh, were found without any alteration: all were astonished, and the Ismâílíah thought this event to be one of the miracles of their Said.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ALI ILAHI AN.

In the east of Kohistan, not far from Bakhtá, is a place called *Arníl*,[1] and also *Armal*; the king is there

[1] In the seventh vol. of the Asiatic Researches (p. 338, edit. of Calcutta), we find an article by T. H. Colebrooke, Esq., *On the Origin and peculiar Tenets of certain Muhammedan Sects.* It is there stated that: "The "Ali Ilahiyahs are become numerous in India. This sect is men- "tioned by the author of the Dabistán, as prevalent in his time only at *Uz-* "*bil*, or *Azbal*, in the mountainous tract near *Khata*. It now prevails, "according to the information which I have received, in a part of the "dominion of Nawab Nizamu 'l mulk." The Calcutta edition of the Dabistán reads as above, *Arnil*, *Arma'l*, and *Bakhta*: the manuscript of Oude agrees with Colebrooke's reading, *Azbi'l*, but has بختا, *bakhta'*, and زبال, *zeba'l*, for the two other names. The celebrated Orientalist gives an abstract of the doctrine of this sect according to the Dabistán, joined to an account of the *Borahs*, according to the *Meja'lisu 'l mu'- mi'nin*, composed by *Nu'rallah of Shoster*, a zealous Shiâh. The Bóh- rahs are described by this author as natives of Guzerat, converted to the Muhammedan religion about three hundred years before his time, now 542 years ago. Their converter was *Mullah Ali*, whose tomb is still seen at the city of Combáyat. Some of this tribe are Sunnites. The party who profess the Imámiah tenets comprehended, in the year 1800, nearly

entitled *Abáb*. They say: as it is evident to the swimmer in the sea of the realities of events, that the door of intercourse is closed between the beings below and those above, and no intercourse is opened between the elemental and the heavenly beings, so are the temporal beings and those of eternity destitute of the bonds of relationship, and no connexion exists between those confined, and those unconfined, by space; therefore they are ordered to know God by investigation of wisdom and of the divine law, and to worship the divinity. The angels on high and the prophets below have the faculty of knowing the substance of the blessed verses, but not the divine Being itself:

"We do not know thee as thou shouldst be known."

This is what the crier proclaims. On that account it is necessary to the Almighty God and eternal Lord that he should descend from the dignity of purity and from the station of unity and absoluteness, and that, according to the abundance of his clemency, he should, in every period and revolution of time, unite his spirit with a bodily frame, in order that his creatures may behold this holy and exalted Lord, and, in whatever manner he ordains, acknowledge and reverence him; the precepts and

two thousand families. They are chiefly occupied in trade, and transmit the fifth part of their gains to the Sayyads of Medina: they are honest, pious, and temperate.

traditions of history are published to that effect. As the manifestation of a spirit in a bodily form is a possible fact, and the learned agree upon it, and as it is stated in the account of the travellers upon the road of salvation to the city of the true faith, so is it determined that a pure spirit may assume a bodily likeness; thus is the appearance of Jabrîl in the form of an ape-dog[1] an instance of it, and thus, on the occasions of wickedness, is the appearance of Satan, or a demon in a human form. Besides, it is in the power of the Almighty to manifest himself in the best, the most perfect body.

The individuals among men are, during the business of life, formed dependent on their mutual wants. To this sect it is an indispensable rule to associate all together, in order that no oppression may take place towards each other in their communities, and that the order of the world may remain upheld. It is indispensable that this great rule be

[1] We find in the Dictionary دحيه الكلبى *dihyat ol kalbi*, interpreted "the ape-dog; the shape in which the Muhammedans believe the angel "Jabriel to have appeared to their prophet." This is not mentioned in the Koran. We read in a note of Sale's Koran, vol. II. p. 401: It is said that Jabril appeared in his proper shape to none of the prophets except Muhammed, and to him only twice: once when he received the first revelation of the Koran, and a second time when he took his night-journey to heaven. According to the nineteenth chapter of the Koran, Jabril appeared to the Virgin Mary in the shape of a man, like a full grown but beardless youth, and caused her to conceive.

derived from God, the Lord of glory, in order that all men may adopt it. On that account, the government of the supreme Judge has found necessary that, by power of his perfection, a canon, having been revealed among the different classes of mankind, should be agreed upon for the regulation of the creatures, in consequence of which the purpose of the conditions in the affairs of the world might be settled. Further, by the assistance of reason and instruction, there is in this age no other moon or sun in the sphere of perfection but ALI MURTAZA, "the chosen." Truly, the *illiterate prophet*[2] (Muham-

[2] أمي *a'mi'*, "illiterate," was the epithet which Muhammed was pleased to give to himself, not without the intention of rendering it so much more probable that the writing, which he produced as revelations from God, could not possibly be a forgery of his own; because it was not conceivable that a person who could neither read nor write should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style. It was as "the illiterate" that in the 155th verse of the VIIth chapter of the Koran he causes himself to be announced by God, who is introduced speaking to Moses about the punishment deserved by the Jews for their iniquities; and says (ibid., v. 154): "My mercy extendeth over "all things, and I will write down good unto those who shall fear me, "and give alms, and who shall believe our signs—(v. 155): who shall "follow the apostle, the *illiterate prophet*, whom they shall find written "down (i. e. both foretold by name and certain description), with "them in the law and the gospel: he will command them that which is "just, and will forbid them that which is evil," etc., etc. We can, however, scarcely doubt that Muhammed, belonging to the family of Hashem, the most illustrious tribe of the Koreish, the hereditary guardians of the temple of Mecca, and himself skilful in commerce, was not more illite-

med) esteemed this blessed personage equal to several learned apostles, and saw praiseworthy qualities of a prophet united in that virtuous existence. Hence it follows, that men possessed of sight behold him sometimes come down from heaven in the shape of the father of mankind (*Adam*), and reckon his time to be that of one who inhabited the floating ship of Noah, and place him as far back as that age when a martyr, in the garment of Ibrahim, he was playing with the fire *into which Nimrod had thrown him;* another time they find him in the dress of the speaker with God, *Moses*, and the words of that Lord:

"He who knows himself, certainly knows God,"

confirm that the pure spirit of that embodied soul, and wisdom, represented in a person, is the Creator of the world, worthy of praise. And the sentence:

"God created man according to his image."

relates to the same, as Adam, the holy father of mankind, the Just, is nobody else but *Alí Murtazi*. And the saying:

"I saw the Lord in the shape of a man,"

refers to that eternal being, merging into a body, as he has manifested himself in the prophet's visible

rate than the Arabs of his class; he certainly proved himself a man of a lofty genius, and, although he wrote not in verse, a sublime poet.

form under the shape a powerful man; and the honor of the prophet's presenting his shoulder by the assistance of the divine grace to the foot of that leader, relates but to this, that reverence is due to him, as that truth-speaking and truth-singing poet sung:

"The prophet, in breaking down the idols, had no other desire
"But that his shoulder might be placed beneath the foot of the chosen;
"And the house of the worshipped Kâbah be filled with his presence."

[1] These sectaries also say, that in every revolution of time, the Lord God was united to the body of a prophet or saint, namely, from Adam down to Ahmed[2] and Ali, in which manner they explain the transmigration of the divine light. And some of them say, that the manifestation of God in this age

[1] We read above the account of sectaries who deified Ali. So much is certain, that, from his most tender youth, he was the most zealous, courageous, and intelligent supporter of Muhammed. The prophet gave him the surname of "the lion of God:" he said to him: "Thou art my "vizir, and my brother in this and the other world. Thou standest "by me as Aaron stood by Moses; except that no prophet will come "after me, I have no advantage over thee. I am the town of knowledge, "and Ali the gate to it." Ali was a poet; we have but half a dozen of his poems and one hundred of his sayings. — (See the above-quoted work of Baron Hammer, *Gemäldesaal Mosl. Herrscher, Ier Band.* pp. 321–323.)

[2] *Ahmed*, "most laudable," is one of the names of Muhammed. According to the Commentators of the Koran and the Traditionists, *Muhammed* is the name for men; *Ahmed* that with which the prophet was greeted by the angels; and *Mahmud* that which the inhabitants of hell gave him. He has a thousand names by means of his attributes.

took place in Aly alah, and after him in his descendants, and they acknowledge Muhammed and Alí as prophets and the mission of Alí alah. They assert, that when God saw that the business did not go on well by the prophet, he came to his assistance, as it were, by way of zeal. The author of this book saw a person from among them, called Ahmed, who said, that the Koran which is among them does not deserve confidence, as it is not the book which Alí Alah had given to Muhammed; but is the composition of Abu bekr, of Omar, and Osman. The author saw also one named Shams-eddin, who said: Certainly the Koran is the word of Alí alah, but having been collected by Osman, it ought not to be read. Some were seen among them who asserted that the verse and prose, ascribed to the Amir of the believers, *Omar*, were collected by Alí, and inserted in the Koran, and to these they attach a superiority over the Koran, inasmuch as they came from Alí allah to the creatures without foreign intervention, whilst the Farkan, *Koran*, was delivered into the hands of men by means of Muhammed.

There is besides a sect among them which is called the *Ulviahs*.[1] They themselves derive their origin from Alí allah, and in their creed participate

[1] *Ulviahs*, or *Ali'i'ades*, are called the descendants of Ali, the two principal branches of whom were those of his sons, Husseim and Hassan. In the first continued the twelve Imáms; in the second, several leaders

with that of the just mentioned sect: they say, that the Koran which is now among men, is not the word of Alí allah, because the shaiks (Abu bekr and Omar) employed themselves in its transposition, and at last Osman cast the whole away; as he possessed eloquence, he composed a book in his own way, and burnt the original Koran, wherefore these sectaries, wherever they find this book, consign it to the flames. Their belief is, that when Alí allah left the body, he was united with the sun; that he is now the sun; and having also been the sun before, he was for some days joined to an elemental body. They further maintain, that on this account the sun was moving by his order, inasmuch as he is the real sun; wherefore they call the sun *Alí allah*, and the fourth heaven *Daldal*.[1] They are worshippers of the sun, whom they hold to be God Almighty. They are a respectable tribe, and a division of them pretend that they can call upon the sun, who answers them, and affords them protection in their affairs.

Abd u'lah, one of them so named, reported, that among his relations was a man called Azíz, upon whom, when he pronounced with fervour Alí allah, and gave himself up to an ecstatical song or dance, no sword could take effect. Thus, when

rose, with unequal success, in different times and places, against the government of the Ommiades and Abbasides.

[1] So is called Muhammed's mule; also Ali's horse.

one of the incredulous denied this; Azíz became warm, and took to calling out "Alí allah" in such a manner that foam settled upon his lips, and he cried to the denier: "Strike, O accursed!" The latter aimed several blows with a sword at him, but effected nothing. This person has now joined Alí allah in the other world.

Among these sectaries it is not permitted to kill any living being, nor to eat any flesh, as Alí allah said:

"Make not of your bellies the tombs of living beings."

And the animals which the Koran permits to be killed, and the flesh which he allows to be eaten, is that of Abu bekr, of Omar, and Osman, and of their followers, and all prohibited things, they say, have reference to these three persons. With them, Iblis, the serpent, and the peacock are symbols of these three, and likewise Shedád,[1] Nimród, and Phárâún are they. These sectaries admit prostration before the image of Alí allah; the breaking and worshipping of idols relates, according to them, to the said three individuals, as Alí allah called the Shaikhs the

[1] Shedád is a fabulous personage, said to have lived in the times of Jemshid, and to have been sent by Zohak to destroy Jemshid, who made war upon him. The fabulists give two hundred and sixty years to the reign of Shedád, and three hundred to that of his brother Shadid. Both these personages are also said to have lived in the time of the Hebrew prophet Heber.—(See Herbelot.)

idols of the Korêsh. They agree upon transmigration, and say, that when Alí appeared in former times in the form of a prophet, those three also made their appearance in the shape of deniers, and after them many others will come.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Page

THE SECOND CHAPTER OF THE DABISTAN

Describes, in twelve Sections, the religious system of the Hindus.. 1
Section I.—Concerning the orthodox Hindu system..... 2
Summary of the doctrines contained in the Budah Mimansa 3
Section II.—Of certain opinions entertained by this sect concerning the creation 9
Section III.—Concerning the religious observances and ceremonies of the Smartas, or orthodox of the Hindus..... 53
Section IV.—Of the followers of the Vedanta..... 90
Section V.—Concerning those who profess the Sankhya doctrines. 118
Section VI.—Of the Yogis and their doctrines..... .. 123
Section VII.—Of the tenets of the Saktian 148
History of the illustrious Shaikh Abu Ali Hussain, the son of Abdullah ben Sina (Avi senna) 168
Section VIII.—Of the Vishnuian (Vaishnavas), worshippers of Vishnu 175
Of the Vairagis 184
Section IX.—On the creed of the Charvak 197
Section X.—On the system of those who profess the doctrine of Tark 203
Section XI.—On the tenets held by the followers of Buddha..... 210
Section XII.—On various religious systems professed by the people of India 216

CHAPTER III.

Of the religion of the Kera Tabitian 289

Page

CHAPTER IV.

Of the religion of the Yahuds (Jews), in two Sections 293
Section I.—The information received from Muhammed Said Sarmed *ibid.*
Section II.—Upon the book of Adam 299

CHAPTER V

Of the religion of the Tarsa (Christians) in three sections 305
Section I.—An account of the Lord Aisia (Jesus)..... *ibid*
Section II. Of the creed of the Aisuah (Christians)..... 308
Section III. Of the works of the Christians 312

CHAPTER VI.

Of the religion of the Muhammedans, in two Sections 322
Section I —Of the religion of the Sonnites..... *ibid.*
An account of the angels 337
An account of the Umaviyah and Yezidiah connected with the Ali-Ilahian 356
Section II.—Of the religion of the Shiâhs 362
Of the twelve sects of the Shiâhs 364
Of the religion of the Akhbârin..... 372
An account of the Ismâiliah..... 397
An account of the Ali Ilahian 451

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